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TITLE OF THESIS.....The Bessarabian German Dialect in Medicine Hat, Alberta

.....

UNIVERSITY.....University of Alberta.....

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED.....Ph.D.....

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED.....1973.....

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NL-91 (10-68)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE BESSARABIAN GERMAN DIALECT IN MEDICINE HAT, ALBERTA

BY

ELVIRE EBERHARDT

©

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1973

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Bessarabian German Dialect in Medicine Hat, Alberta," submitted by Elvire Eberhardt in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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To my parents

Otto and Hulda Eberhardt

ABSTRACT

In 1961, 5,707 out of 24,484 inhabitants of Medicine Hat, Alberta, gave German as their mother tongue. By German most meant the dialect of Bessarabian German.

It was found that there existed two kinds of Bessarabian German in Medicine Hat: the language of the older and Bessarabian-born informants with a consistent system of language, and that of the younger and Canadian-born persons with a great amount of interference from both Standard German and English. The dialect of the older generation was then assumed to be the original dialect, which had been influenced by Standard German and English in the younger generation. This dissertation, therefore, analyses the original dialect first and then examines influences on it from the two sources. The original dialect is referred to as Bessarabian German (BG), the dialect of the younger and Canadian-born informants as Canadian Bessarabian German (CBG). Since Bessarabian German is closely related to the standard language, those features differing from Standard German have been the chief focus of attention[1].

Chapter I traces the migration routes from South Germany to Bessarabia and from there to the United States and Canada. Farming and strong religious and cultural cohesiveness give the group its distinctiveness. Chapter II analyses the phonology. The absence of front rounded vowels, the presence of the nasalized vowels /ẽ, õ, ã/, the mid vowels /ɛ, e; o:, ɔ:/ and long and short diphthongs are the striking features of the vocalism. In the consonants, almost complete loss of voice

[1]The tapes with the data material are kept with the Department of Germanic Languages at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Alberta.

contrast stands out as a difference from Standard German. In morphology (Chapter III), BG has lost the genitive case. For plural formation, it uses three allomorphs /ø, -a, -er/. It distinguishes masculine and neuter in the nominative indefinite article. In the present tense there is a progressive aspect. The past perfect tense uses the perfect of the auxiliary, e.g., er had gsẽ ghed 'he had seen'. In Chapters IV and V it is shown that although BG does not stem directly from Middle High German, it is nonetheless a closely related Upper German dialect, exhibiting features from both East Franconian and Swabian. It was found necessary to refer to Old High German to explain which final vowels are retained in BG.

No strict rule governing the interference in Medicine Hat BG could be found for either of the two sources, Standard German and English, but the extent of interference could be seen to depend on the education of the informant, his age when the new language was introduced, and the prestige of the language (Chapter VI). The level at which most interference could be observed from English was the lexical, whereas Standard German affected particularly the phonology of BG.

At present, Bessarabian German in Medicine Hat is fairly widely used and/or understood. However, the younger generation has mixed this dialect extensively with features from other sources, and its system has become rather inconsistent. The result in these speakers is an impoverished language, uncertainty, and a preference for English.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am indebted to the University of Alberta for a Dissertation Fellowship which enabled me to do research and work on this dissertation. Special thanks are due to my supervisor Dr. Richard d'Alquen whose untiring advice and constructive criticism directed me through the whole work. I have learned to appreciate him highly both as a person and as a scholar. I am grateful also to Dr. Manfred Prokop for his suggestions and encouragement through the course of the work. Dr. Gary Prideaux clarified aspects of phonology for me for which I am really thankful. This dissertation was only made possible through my informants, Fred Heidinger, Johann Schorr, Olga Schlenker, Olga Erdmann, Alma Staples, Lilly Fandrich, Hertha Schock, Henry Schorr, and Norbert and Hilma Klaiber. I would like to thank them sincerely for the time and willingness they contributed in the collection of material.

However, my gratitude does not stop at human personalities or institutions. Without the continual help of God and an abundant supply of strength from Him this dissertation would never have been completed. Therefore, I would like to express here my thankfulness to Him.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	: accusative
BG	: Bessarabian German
CBG	: Canadian Bessarabian German
D	: dative
DDG	: Deutsche Dialektgeographie
dim	: diminutive
E.Fr	: East Franconian
f or fem	: feminine
gen	: genitive
GRM	: Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift
JCLA	: Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association
JEGP	: Journal of English and Germanic Philology
JffL	: Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung
m or masc	: masculine
MHG	: Middle High German
N	: nominative
n or neut	: neuter
NHG	: New High German
OHG	: Old High German
PBB	: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur
pl	: plural
sg	: singular
Sw	: Swabian
Teut	: Teuthonista, Zeitschrift für deutsche Dialektforschung und Sprachgeschichte
U	: Umlaut
WW	: Wirkendes Wort
ZfdA	: Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
ZfhdMa	: Zeitschrift für hochdeutsche Mundarten
ZfPh	: Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

INTRODUCTION

In the Canadian Census of 1961 over one fifth of the population of Medicine Hat, Alberta, gave German as their mother tongue[1]. An investigation reveals that by German not the standard language is meant, but rather one of its dialects. The largest group of these German speakers originated in Bessarabia, the region in the USSR between the rivers Pruth and Dniester north of the Black Sea. They are either immigrants from there or first generation Canadians of Bessarabian-born parents. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate and describe the major features of their dialect.

In this task the first problem was the selection of informants. In order to choose a fairly representative group of this dialect, I attempted to obtain a wide range in age, education, and regional distribution over Bessarabia. The following questionnaire was set up to inform about each person's social, educational, and regional background.

Personal questionnaire:

1. Name 2. Address 3. Occupation
4. Place and year of birth
5. Father
   a. Place and year of birth
   b. Year of immigration to Canada
   c. Occupation
6. Mother
   a. Place and year of birth
   b. Year of immigration to Canada
   c. Occupation
7. When is Bessarabian German spoken now, when and where did you learn it?

---

[1] 5,707 out of a population of 24,484.

8. For how long and where was German learned?
9. For how long and where was English learned?
10. Duration and year of visit to Germany, if any.
11. Do you read and write German?
12. Do you read and write English?

Out of a larger group of persons interviewed, the ten with a distinct pronunciation and whose first language had been BG were chosen. (A short description of each informant is given in Appendix I). From the information of the personal questionnaire they may be characterized as follows:

1. All ten informants are competent speakers of the dialect. It was their first language learned, although only four actually were born in Bessarabia. The six Canadian-born informants now prefer to speak English.
2. All informants are able to read and write Standard German and eight of them also read and write English. Three learned Standard German through church activities, the others had formal German classes. Among the English speakers, six had learned English in school, while the other two learned it through other speakers. The question whether the German dialect influenced their English was not investigated in this study.
3. The speakers represent various educational levels. Six informants attended school for eight years or less, two had not quite completed high school. The other two are working towards a university degree as an undergraduate and a graduate student, respectively.
4. The following occupations are represented in the group of informants: retired farmers (2), housewives (2), nursing aid (1), respiratory technician (1), teacher (1), students (3).
5. In the selection of informants attention was paid to age; however, Bessarabian-born informants are all of the

older age group, that is between 59 and 89. The six Canadian-born persons fall into two groups, three of them are in their forties, the other three between 13 and 18. 6. As far as their origin in Bessarabia is concerned, the informants come from either the central region ("Mutterkolonien") or the western part (Cahul region) of Bessarabia.

The second problem for the analysis of the Bessarabian German dialect was the collection of data material, which was to serve as the basis for the analysis of the dialect. Therefore, the informants were all interviewed personally for up to two hours, and their speech was taped. The usual procedure for the interviews was to start a conversation, mostly on immigration and early days in Canada with the older and Bessarabian-born generation, on work or school with the younger people, and the informants were encouraged to say as much as possible. Since the author is Bessarabian-born and speaks this dialect like the Bessarabian-born informants, all questions and instructions were given in this dialect. As the informants felt competent to report on the topics chosen, the atmosphere became relaxed and the persons spoke quite freely and without hesitation or prompting. If the initial conversation had not evolved around topics the author desired, each informant was then asked to comment on or name the following in the dialect: 1. numbers, 2. days, months, seasons, 3. parts of the body, 4. weather in Medicine Hat, 5. family, relatives and furniture in the house, 6. mother's work, 7. father's or own work, 8. church activities, 9. hobby, 10. farming, 11. shopping, 12. government.[2] In

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[2] For the topics 3 to 6, and 10 to 12 I am indebted to G. G. Gilbert, Texas Studies in Bilingualism (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970), p. 173. The topic of 1 and part of 2 is suggested in E. Haugen, The Norwegian Language in America (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), p. 325.

the third part of the interview lexical items were elicited either with the help of pictures or by pointing to the object itself; where this method failed the author resorted to English. The purpose was to obtain specific examples which reflected the historical development of Bessarabian German sounds. In order to provide a fairly complete analysis the author provided some of the examples given in the chapter on historical phonology. Transcribed samples of the interviews with each informant are given in Appendix II of this study.

The interviews revealed two different dialects among the informants: a. the one of the older and Bessarabian-born persons and b. that of the Canadian-born generation. The older informants used one consistent set of sounds in BG words as well as in loans. The younger ones presented a variety of forms, which reflected Standard German and English influence. It was assumed then that the language of the older generation was the original dialect which had been influenced through the contact with English and Standard German in the younger persons. Thus this dissertation analyzes the dialect of the Bessarabian-born informants first (in Chapters II and III), shows the historical development of its sound system (Chapter IV) and its relationship to dialects in Germany (Chapter V). The last Chapter explores influences on this dialect from Standard German and English in the speech of the Canadian-born persons.

An analysis such as this requires a brief consideration of the goals of the analysis and the method used to reach them. In studying the Bessarabian German dialect in Medicine Hat the aim was to investigate and describe the major features of the dialect. Since the state of German in Alberta - indeed in Canada generally - has not been adequately investigated, we are not yet at a stage where hypotheses can be easily tested. Therefore, the aim

of this dissertation was restricted to an accurate description of the data rather than the development of linguistic theory based on the elicited material. Moreover, while the dialect of the older generation portrays the usual grammatical regularity of natural languages and is therefore conducive to all standard schools of analysis, the dialect of the younger, Canadian-born informants, is much looser grammatically. Their utterances are more unpredictable in grammatical structure, choice of vocabulary, and phonological patterns. Thus to set up a grammar which would produce all possible sentences in their dialect would be an open-ended undertaking, and thus a descriptive study is defensible. For this reason the writing of a generative grammar was avoided; some of the issues in generative grammar would involve the investigator in intellectual disputes, which would distract from the main task of describing BG. Thus the dissertation focuses on performance rather than competence or intuition of the speaker. The descriptive statements of this analysis do, however, consider the "creative aspects of language", but to present a system which would "embody the speaker's competence in and the knowledge of his language", which Chomsky misses in modern linguistics[3], appeared to be an impossible endeavor.

Another reason for preferring a description of the material over the development of a theory arose from the similarity between Bessarabian German and the standard language. As certain areas proved to be identical in the two languages, only those features of the dialect which differed from Standard German were analyzed in detail so as not to duplicate Standard German grammars. Hence it was considered most advantageous to use a form of grammar in which Standard German is commonly expressed.

---

[3]Noam Chomsky, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory (The Hague: Mouton, 1964), p. 23.

A third reason for preferring a description of the data to theoretical discussions of linguistic issues stems from the readership expected for this dissertation. The reader interested in BG will want to acquaint himself with the facts about this dialect rather than be drawn into a linguistic controversy. In this way the dissertation intends to contribute to the study of German on this continent..

For the task of describing BG with a maximum degree of readability we found that a modified structuralist method served our purpose best. By modified structuralism a method is meant which only loosely holds to the hierarchy of levels and the concept of biuniqueness. A strict phonemic theory admits of no interconnections of various levels of analysis of a language system, although it has been demonstrated that a rigid separation of levels has not yet been adequately kept.[4] This dissertation treats phonology as being open towards morphology as well as phonetics. Its "phonemic" notation represents morphophonemes in cases where the phonetic realization can be predicted from the phonemic environment. Phonological rules handle morphophonemic and allophonic information. In this way the notation between slant lines renders each morpheme in such a way that the lexical representation is simplified, thus increasing the readability of the quoted words. For example, the contracted prefix /g-/ 'ge-' in our notation will be represented phonemically as /g-/ in forms like /gnɛ:d/ [gnɛ:t] 'genäht' as well as /'gfala/ ['kfala] 'gefallen' regardless of the fact that voiced stops are devoiced before voiceless consonants. /g-/ 'ge-' is just one morpheme and its phonetic realization can be handled by rules. Here, then, the notation represents morphopho-

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[4] Kenneth L. Pike, "More on Grammatical Prerequisites," Word, VIII (1952), 106 - 121.

nemes. However, in morphemes where their phonetic realization cannot be predicted from phonemic environments, e.g., the past participle suffix /-a/ and /-d/ in /'gfala/ and /gnɛ:d/, the notation will not represent morphophonemes.

Another reason for accepting the structuralist method came from its view that phonemes are sequential elements rather than different combinations of distinctive features. This allowed for a simplification on the phonological level with regards to [v] and [j] (see Chapter II, 2.1). A linear interpretation of phonemes stressed their combinatorial powers, and thus [v] and [j] were treated as allophones of /u/, and /i/ or /i:/. This, in turn, eliminated all voiced fricatives in the phonemic inventory.

Descriptive phonology deals with sounds according to articulatory criteria rather than acoustical oppositions. The former provides a better basis for understanding the interference from the different sources. For these reasons, we have found a modified structuralist method most suitable for our analysis.

With the description of this dialect we would like to contribute to the study of German in North America, in particular to that of Bessarabian German. The few surveys on the location and number of Bessarabian German emigrants, for example, by K. Stumpp[5] and H. Lehmann[6] supply information mainly about reasons for emigration and conditions in the new country. According to our findings, a sizeable number of them settled in Medicine Hat, so that there are about 4,000 BG speakers in this town. The older generation is distinguished partly by its preference for

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[5]Karl Stumpp, The German-Russians. Two Centuries of Pioneering (Bonn: Edition Atlantic Forum, 1967), p. 31.

[6]Heinz Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1939), pp. 67 - 68.

this dialect over English, and also by the fact that it has never really identified with the culture and life of the adopted country. The younger BG speakers are very much a part of Alberta. They prefer English, and even when the German dialect is spoken many foreign features interfere.

As far as the dialect itself is concerned, only three authors have dealt with it. All of them base their research on the dialect as it was spoken in Bessarabia itself. G. Hahn describes the historical development of the dialect in the mother colony Lichtental from Middle High German.[7] Since his dialect showed mostly Swabian features, BG as characterized here differs from it in many instances, for example, in the presence of pure long vowels instead of diphthongs. BG keeps nasals before fricatives and intervocalic /b/ as stop, which is a voiced fricative in Lichtental. In grammar a simple past and non-past subjunctive, such as was used in Lichtental, could not be found in BG, but the BG formation of a present tense progressive with the help of the verb dõ 'tun' is not mentioned in Hahn's work.

A. Eckert traced the dialect of the original settlements in Bessarabia back to its origin in Germany[8], basing it on phonological features. BG most closely resembles the "neuschwäbische Gruppe", but is not identical with it. For example, in this group voiceless stops are much more numerous initially and also occur intervocalically, which is not the case in BG. They have only one

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[7]Gottlieb Hahn, "Die Mundart von Lichtental, Kreis Akkerman, Bessarabien" (diss., Tübingen, 1929).

[8]Albert Eckert, Die Mundarten der deutschen Muttercolonien Bessarabiens und ihre Stammheimat, DDG, XL (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1941).

unstressed vowel, i.e. ə where BG has two. In Eckert's analysis MHG /ou/ always corresponds to a modern diphthong, whereas in BG this is only the case preceding MHG /w/. It is interesting, however, that "Neuschwäbisch" in Bessarabia was not identical with any one German dialect, it had mixed features from different sources. The same is true for BG, only in its mixture different features emerged.

H. E. Fiechtner listed over six hundred foreign vocabulary items in the language of the Germans in Bessarabia and organized them according to their source.[9] Most of these have become passive vocabulary in BG. Only one item of his list (i.e. areš'dand 'Sträfling') occurred in my interviews, viz. in the speech of a Bessarabian-born informant (JS). However, some are still known passively to the older speakers, even the Canadian-born, e.g., kaš'drol 'Topf', badle'tšan 'Tomate', and brosd 'schlecht'.

With this dissertation, attention is given to the Bessarabian German dialect for the first time as it is spoken outside its homeland; with it we hope to aid in some measure the understanding of the language of this ethnic group.

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[9] Hellmut E. Fiechtner, "Fremde Einflüsse in der Sprache und in den sprachlichen Gütern der Bessarabiendeutschen" (diss., Tübingen, 1952).

CHAPTER I

SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF THE BESSARABIAN GERMANS

The Bessarabian Germans received their name from the territory north of the Black Sea and the mouth of the Danube between the rivers Pruth and Dniester. The name dates back to the Walachian principality of the Basarabs[1] who, for a time, had occupied the southern part of Bessarabia. The province extended over an area of about 45,000 square kilometers, and in 1930 had a population of 2.8 million of whom 55.8% were Rumanians, 24.5% Ukranians or Rus-

Map 1

[1]Ioan Barbovescu, "Die Basch-Araba und die Anfänge des romänischen Staates," Romänische Revue, VII (1891), 324, and Carl Uhlig, Die bessarabische Frage (Breslau, 1926), p. 36.

sians, 7% Jews, 5.8% Bulgarians, 3.5% Gagausians[2], 2.8% Germans, and 0.6% others.[3]

1.0 The German Settlement in Bessarabia

1.1 The Offer of the Russian Government

The German settled in Bessarabia after 1812 when Russia annexed this part of the Ottoman Empire. During the Russo-Turkish war of 1806 - 1812 the Islamic population moved south of the Danube leaving empty vast areas of land behind. Alexander I. called on the Germans to repopulate Bessarabia, offering generous terms. He promised, among other things, free expression of faith in the mother tongue.

In response to this offer, about 9,000 Germans established 25 mother colonies in Bessarabia between 1814

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[2]Gagausians (German: Gagausen) are either of Slavic or Turko-Tatarian descent, speak a Turkish dialect and belong to the Orthodox faith. Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslanddeutschtums (Breslau, 1933), (hereafter cited as Handwörterbuch), p. 394, and Hellmut E. Fiechtner, "Fremde Einflüsse in der Sprache und in den sprachlichen Gütern der Bessarabiendeutschen" (diss., Tübingen, 1952), p. 14.

[3]Theodor Schieder, ed. Das Schicksal der Deutschen in Rumänien (3 vols.; Berlin: Bundesministerium für Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge und Kriegsgeschädigte, 1957), III, 11.E. Paul Rohrbach lists Greeks and Gypsies in addition to the above. See Deutschtum in Not! (Leipzig, 1926), p. 382.

and 1842[4] (see Map 2).

1.2 Origin of the German Immigrants

Eighteen of the original villages were established by immigrants from the Duchy of Warsaw. These settlers had stayed in Poland only briefly.[5] Their area of origin was in many cases Southern Germany, the Duchy of Württemberg, in particular; otherwise they or their parents had come from parts of Prussia, like Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and East and West Prussia.[6] It is impossible to localize their original dialect more exactly, mainly because already in Poland language differences had started to level out through contact among recent arrivals and between them and the numerous and various older settlers of the area.[7] Religious and social oppression, revolutionary disturbances (1810/11), and French troop movements (1812/13) caused them to move south. In Bessarabia, before establishing a home on the assigned land, the sett-

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[4] I. Wagner, Zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Bessarabien (Mühlacker: Heimatmuseum der Deutschen in Bessarabien, 1958), p. 9, and G. Fittbogen, Was jeder Deutsche vom Auslanddeutschtum wissen muß (München, 1938), p. 157. A. Eckert and K. Stumpp suggest about 8,000 settlers. (A. Eckert, Die Mundarten der deutschen Mutterkolonien Bessarabiens und ihre Stammheimat, DDG, XL (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1941), p. 19, and K. Stumpp, "Die deutschen Kolonisten in Bessarabien," Deutsche Arbeit, IX (1939), 404). O. Fischer thinks of 12,000 settlers. See "Zur Volksbiologie der deutschen Siedlungen in Bessarabien," Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung, I (1940), 52. G. Hahn gives the population in 1827 as 9,232 persons, but immigration lasted till 1842. See "Die Mundart von Lichtental, Kreis Akkerman, Bessarabien" (diss., Tübingen, 1929), p. 10.

[5] H. E. Piechtner, "Fremde Einflüsse," p. 16 speaks of 8 - 18 years, A. Eckert, Die Mundarten, p. 74, of a decade.

[6] G. Leibbrandt, Die deutschen Kolonien in Cherson und Bessarabien (Stuttgart: Ausland und Heimat Verlags—Aktiengesellschaft, 1926), pp. 119-197.

[7] Eckert, p. 11.

lers had to stay in Moldavian villages for up to two years. Here some Rumanian dialect vocabulary started to enter into their language.

Three of the mother colonies were founded by the "Separatists" or "Chiliasts"[8], who came directly from Southern Germany via the Danube or by land via Vienna - Krakow - Lemberg - Odessa. Their reasons for coming were religious; discontented with the established church and its practices, they separated and emigrated to be able to lead a more pious life. Some of this group were followers of the Bavarian priest Ignaz Lindl, who wanted to establish a community modelled after the early Christians. Other immigrants from Württemberg, Rhenish Hesse, Alsace, and Bavaria,[9] who came to Bessarabia mainly for economic reasons, occupied the rest of the land.

The other settlements, which are also counted among the mother colonies, were populated by inhabitants who came from already established Bessarabian villages, or by South German settlers who had settled east of the Dniester River in the Ukraine before coming to Bessarabia. These are really secondary colonies, but because they lie within the area originally reserved for German settlement (Kronsland) they are included in this group. Transfers from one settlement to another took place also among the original ones so that the linguistic composition of each village was quite heterogeneous. In addition to the multiplicity of German dialects a village usually had a small

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[8] Their name is derived from Greek chilia 'thousand', because they believed in the coming of a millenium of peace in 1836, which date was first proclaimed by the Swabian theologian Joh. A. Bengel.

[9] R. Bahr, "Bessarabien und die Dobrudscha," Deutsches Schicksal im Osten (Hamburg, 1936), 190; see also G. Hahn, "Lichtental", p. 32.

number of inhabitants from other nationalities: Tatars, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Gagausians, or Jews. A few were farm hands, but most of them were tradesmen; therefore greater numbers were found in commercial centres (Tarutino, Arzis, Sarata). Generally, though, the settlements were able to keep their national unity[10], because the land was owned by the community[11], which controlled its distribution.

As manifold as the origin of the first settlers may be, their dialects can be divided roughly into three main groups[12]: Low German, Middle German, and Upper German. Wherever any of these dialects was spoken by the majority, its usage became the norm in the community.[13]

In seven villages Low German was the language of communication, which implies that the characteristics of the High German Sound Shift were missing. /p,t,k/ remained unchanged, and -ke (plural -kes) was used as the diminutive suffix. Its speakers were and still are derisively called "Kaschuben" by the other Bessarabian Germans.[14]

The dialect of Krasna has carried out the High German Sound Shift only partially and therefore qualifies as Middle German. /t;k/ became /ts, ss;x/ while /p/ re-

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[10] Walter Kuhn, "Die deutschen Siedlungsräume im Südosten," Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung, I (1937), 819.

[11] Handwörterbuch, p. 412.

[12] Eckert, Die Mundarten, pp. 25-29.

[13] Hahn, "Lichtental", p. 10.

[14] "Kaschuben" are Slavic people of the Lower Vistula. Because the Low German was just as unintelligible as Kashubian, the Swabians used this name for their German neighbours after they left Poland.

mained unchanged. The diminutive here is -e (plural -er).[15]

All other original villages but one exhibit features of an Upper German dialect. /p,t,k/ have shifted in all positions (except /k/ initially) and -le (plural -la) is used as the diminutive suffix.

The language of one village (Alt-Elft) cannot easily be included in any one of the groups. It shows characteristics of all three[16] and is closest to Standard German or Middle German.

As the following map (Map 2) demonstrates, the villages with Upper German dialects are adjacent to the Low German and Middle German ones. It also shows the smaller number of Low German settlements. Because secondary settlements were founded by members of several older villages, Upper Germans always outnumbered the others, making the dialect of the daughter colonies Upper German.

1.3 Secondary Settlements and Contacts with Other Nationalities

It is estimated that about 9,000 immigrants entered Bessarabia prior to 1842. In 1940 93,329 Bessarabian Germans[17] came back to Germany as part of a political resettlement from 150 villages. Their settlement history can be divided into three periods:

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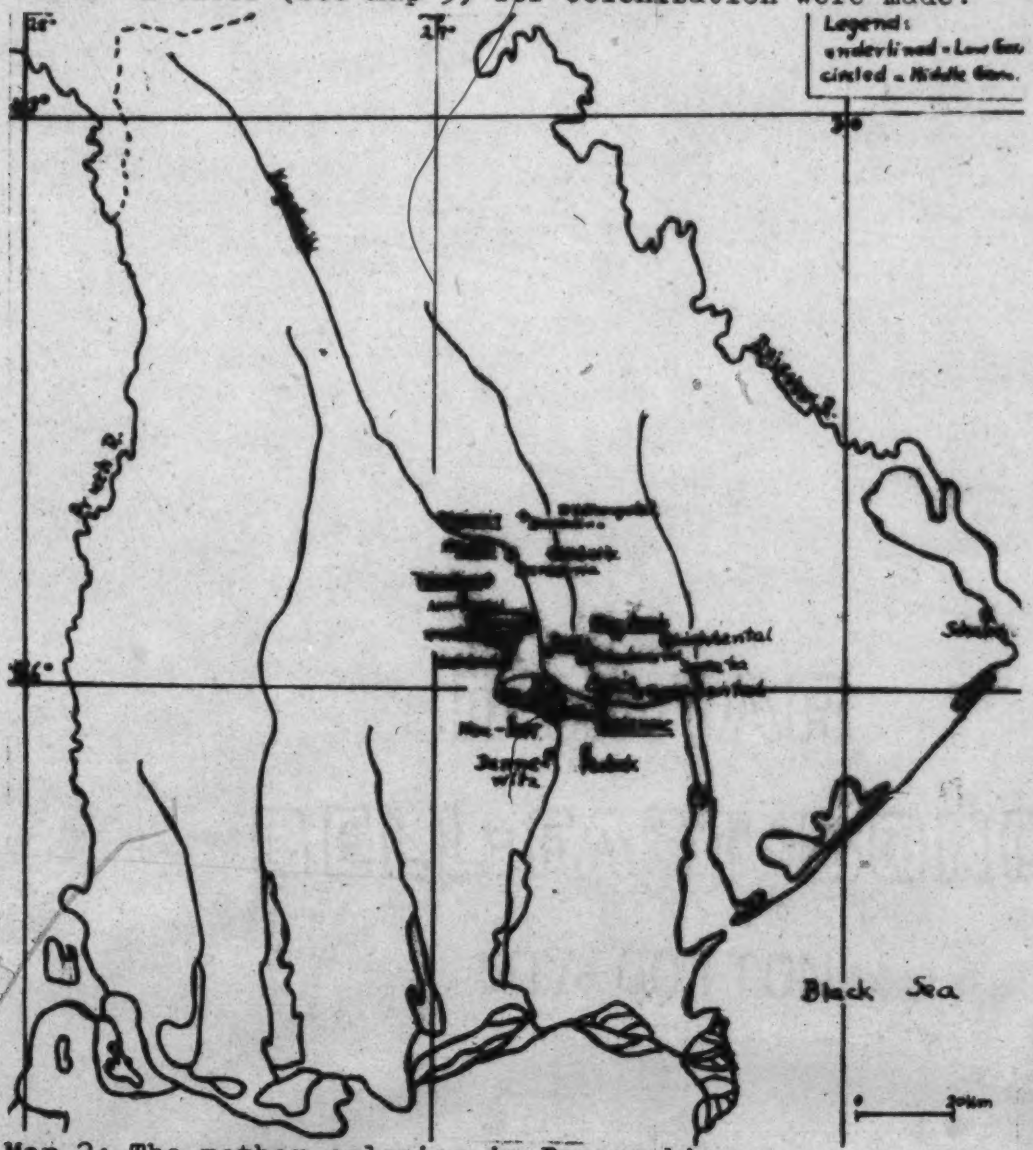
[15] The original inhabitants of Krasna are said to be immigrants from the Palatinate (Handwörterbuch, p. 410); they belong to the small minority of Roman Catholics in Bessarabia, which may be one reason for the retention of their language peculiarities.

[16] Eckert, Die Mundarten, p. 26 f.

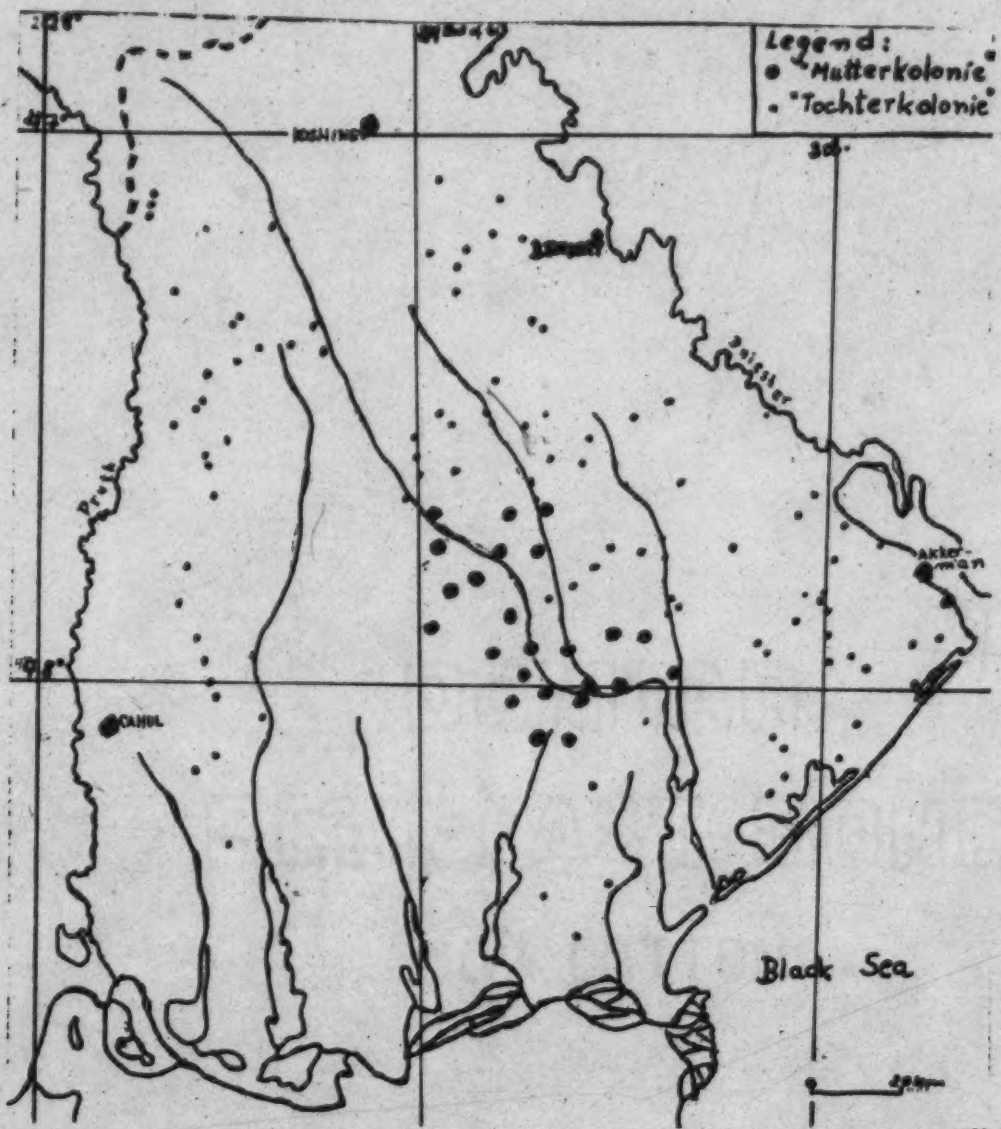
[17] Albert Kern, Heimatbuch der Bessarabiendeutschen (Hannover: Selbstverlag des Hilfskomitees der evang.-luth. Kirche aus Bessarabien e.V., n.d.), p. 14.

a. 1814 - 1842, so-called "Mutterkolonien" : 25 villages
b. 1859 - 1918, " "Tochterkolonien": 109 "
c. 1920 - 1929, " "Neudörfer" (younger daughter settlements) : 16 villages.

The result of the first period of settlement is a fairly complete core of German primary colonies (Mutterkolonien) in central south Bessarabia. From this centre three advances (see Map 3) for colonization were made:



Map 2: The mother colonies in Bessarabia



Map 3: Primary and secondary colonies in Bessarabia

a. towards the north-east (in the direction Kishinev - Bendery), b. towards the east and south-east (in the direction Akkerman - Black Sea), c. westward into the district of Cahul. In the NE, the German element entered Moldavian-Ukrainian lebensraum, in the SE Russian and Ukrainian settlements were intermingled, where both these new settlements remained in loose contact with the original colonies. The western villages in the district of Cahul were separated from the other German settlers by a Bulgarian area. Yet, these daughter colonies retained a German unity and marriages with other nationalities were scarce.

A fourth German settlement area is found in northern Bessarabia with about 1,000 inhabitants in three villages.[18] Little is known about this group with immigrants from Bucovina who had entered Bessarabia between 1818 - 1890, but had practically no contact with the other Bessarabian Germans. This group married extensively with other nationalities[19] and therefore has to be considered an exception among the Bessarabian Germans.

Settlement and contact alone, however, do not give an accurate picture of language development. Of importance are also the occupational and sociological composition of its members and the function of organizations to retain the language. A short description of these follows.

1.4 Occupational and Sociological Composition of the German Settlements

An occupationally homogeneous group immigrated into Bessarabia from 1814 - 1942: the farmers. As late as

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[18] Hans Nimmerruh, "Das Deutschtum im Norden Bessarabiens," Deutscher Volkskalender für Bessarabien (Tarutino, 1927), 104.

[19] H. E. Fiechtner, "Fremde Einflüsse," p. 19.

1932 only one percent of the Germans lived in cities.[20] The great majority of the farmers has to be credited for a strong conservative tendency as its language is concerned. On the other hand, a one-sided social structure such as this invited foreign non-agricultural professions into the settlement and with them their vocational terminology.

That the German language was retained as it was is due to the church and the school and the other organizations interested in German life.

2.0 Organizations which Retained German in Bessarabia

2.1 Church and School

The development and preservation of the German language is closely connected with the church and the school. Alexander I. made no specific provisions for schools, but the communities were granted independent local government. The Czar's office for foreign colonists left the schools to the initiative of the community. Soon each settlement had its "Kirchenschule" under the supervision of the church and each child from seven years on attended it, although only from October till March for seven or eight years.[21] Because the school was the responsibility of each community, its nature and quality depended largely on local attitude and finance, but for this reason also German became the language of instruction, and the classes were taught by German teachers. Initially schoolmasters were farmers; after 1844 a German teachers' college ("Wernerschule" in Sarata) was founded, which raised the quality of the teaching staff.

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[20] Handwörterbuch, p. 395.

[21] E. H. Busch, Materialien zur Geschichte und Statistik der Evang.-Luth. Gemeinden in Rußland (St. Petersburg, 1862), p. 160.

Schools were supervised by the church, but the church itself had very few ministers. Most parishioners saw their pastors two or three times a year, and the teachers had to perform parochial duties. Furthermore, in the nineteenth century ministers in Bessarabia were, almost without exception, Germans from the Baltic countries with an accent strange to the Bessarabian Germans, but because of their small numbers the clergymen could have very little influence on Bessarabian German. When Bessarabian Germans were trained as theologians, they returned from their studies as speakers of Standard German, although it should be understood that regional varieties of this were current in Bessarabia. Clergymen provided one contact with the standard language for the dialect-speaking settlers; teachers and what reading material there was in circulation (like the Bible, Catechism, devotional books[22], and hymnals) provided the only other contacts. Little wonder then that the average Bessarabian German spoke his mother tongue only in the form of the dialect.

Moreover, educational matters from 1874 on came increasingly under the authority of the Russian state until in 1891 the school lost its autonomy altogether. At first Russian became a compulsory subject, then the sole language of instruction with Russian supervisors of the curriculum.

This situation changed in 1918 when Bessarabia amalgamated with Rumania. Initially the Rumanians allowed favourable conditions, and German was permitted as the language of instruction in schools. However, from as early as 1925 Rumanian had to be the language of instruction in

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[22] H. E. Fiechtner, "Fremde Einflüsse," p. 28 mentions one by Goßner, also the one by Ph. Fr. Hiller was used widely.

more and more subjects, until in 1934 the German schools were completely rumanianized. Only the three institutions of higher learning in Tarutino and Sarata, being private schools, were allowed to retain German.

Thus the struggle for German-speaking schools was lost, but there was no apparent decline in the amount of German spoken outside of school when in 1940 all Germans left Bessarabia for Germany.

2.2 Other Organizations

At first, school and church were the only points of contact for the Bessarabian settler with the standard language. Since 1863 newspapers, and from 1868 on the popular yearbooks (Kalender), started their circulation, first from Odessa, later, after the annexation of Rumania, Tarutino became the printing centre.[23] From this time on contacts with Germany were also established mainly through university students. In 1921 the "Deutsch-Bessarabische Hochschulverband" was organized to encourage the publication of scholarly work about German life in Bessarabia. It became welcome reading material for this German language island. In 1940, sixty-one villages had German libraries, the teachers' organization (Lehrerverein) and the "Hochschulverband" with its collection of books, and five German book stores distributed reading material. In addition "Jugend- und Kulturvereine" cultivated German songs and customs in bigger centres.[24]

3.0 Emigration from Bessarabia

About 9,000 Germans had immigrated to Bessarabia in the years 1814 - 1842, in 1940 93,329 were resett-

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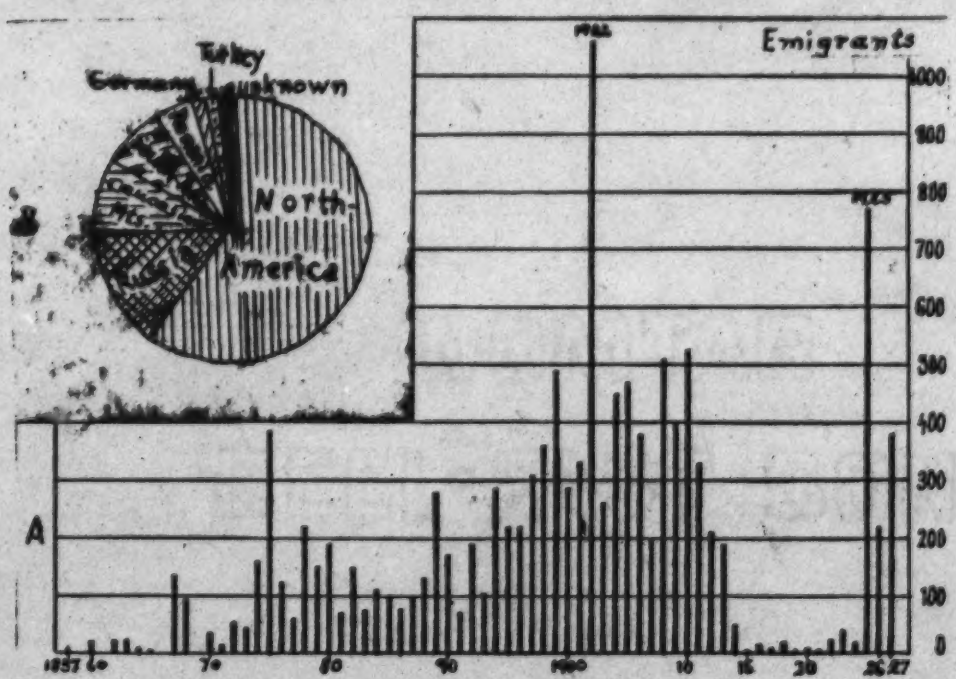
[23] Handwörterbuch, p. 420.

[24] Karl Stumpp, "Das Deutschtum in Bessarabien," Deutsche Post aus dem Osten, VIII (1940), 3.

led in Germany. Not included in this figure, of course, are the many emigrants who left Bessarabia before this time. From 1857 - 1927 19,152 emigrants were registered. The actual number is estimated to be closer to 24,000 or 26,000.[25] Three reasons for their emigration can be shown: a. the lack of land for further development, b. the withdrawal of privileges for German settlers, and c. crop failures. Along with these arose romantic notions about the land of destiny. In this time so-called "Amerikalieder" came into existence, which praised America as the land of milk and honey.[26]

The rise and fall of the Bessarabian German emigration is illustrated by the following chart:



[25] K. Stumpp, "Das Deutschtum in Bessarabien," Volksdeutsche Abende, IX (1937), 1, and XII (1940), 19.

[26] Friedrich Fiechtner, ed. Ich bin das ganze Jahr vergnügt (Stuttgart: Landsmannschaft der Bessarabiendeutschen, 1968), pp. 129-133.

The highest emigration occurred in 1902 when the majority emigrated to North America, to Canada in particular. In 1928 the Rumanian government prohibited further German emigration, thus the doors closed until 1940 when all Germans were brought back to Germany, "heim ins Reich".

4.0 Settlement in Medicine Hat, Alberta

Although emigration from Bessarabia can be traced since 1857, Canada did not benefit from it until the beginning of this century. Only after the Canadian Pacific Railway reached Calgary in 1883 and provisions were made for homesteads (1884 - 1894)[27] could Bessarabian-German immigrants enter southern Alberta. In the years prior to World War I immigration to populate the Canadian West was most ardently wooed under the Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton. Offices were established in Europe to recruit settlers from various origin for Canada. Many Bessarabian Germans eagerly followed their call, partly to avoid conscription into the Russian army, but also for economic reasons. For these reasons it is impossible to determine the actual number of this dialect group in Medicine Hat:

a. The Canadian Census does not distinguish districts within political states, thus Bessarabian Germans born prior to 1918 are listed with all the others whose birthplace is Russia, those born between 1918 and 1940 with those whose birthplace is Rumania or any other European country.

b. Many speakers of Bessarabian German entering the Medicine Hat area between 1906 and the outbreak of World War I were actually born in North or South Dakota.

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[27]E. B. Gerwin, "A Survey of the German-Speaking Population of Alberta" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1938), p. 15.

c. Since all Germans left Bessarabia in 1940, many German-born immigrants appearing in the Canadian Census are actually members of the Bessarabian German language group.

d. All those born in Canada who can still speak this dialect would be listed in the Census among those with mother tongue German or English depending on the degree to which they consider themselves fluent in either language.

For these reasons the number of actual speakers of Bessarabian German in Medicine Hat can only be estimated. Of the 24,484 inhabitants[28] in Medicine Hat in 1961 5,707 gave German as their mother tongue (23.31% of the total population). Considering the birthplace, 1,329 were born in the USSR; because Bessarabia was part of Russia until the Revolution all those Bessarabian Germans having immigrated to Canada prior to 1918 would be included in this figure. There were 53 whose mother tongue is Russian. It has to be suspected that they were born in Russia, too. If one subtracts the 53 Russian speakers from the total 1,329 who were born in Russia, we arrive at 1,276 non-Russian speakers born in Russia. In all likelihood these 1,276 speak German, and in my estimation half of them (approximately 630) are speakers of Bessarabian German. Germany was the birthplace of only 515 persons in Medicine Hat in 1961. If one considers all the 515 German-born speakers of German and subtracts them together with the Russian-born German speakers from the total we are left with 3,916 persons or 68.61% Possible sources of these German speakers are Rumania, USA (the Dakotas in particular), and Canada. In my opinion the vast majority of these remaining 3,916 German speakers (say 3,500) is ultimately of Bessarabian origin. This high number of Bessarabian German speakers is posited because they were the only group of Rumanian Germans leaving their home-

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[28] The source for all figures is the Canadian Census of 1961.

land. Since many of them settled in Germany only temporarily before re-emigrating, it has to be concluded that most of the Rumanian-born German speakers originate in Bessarabia. The Bessarabian Germans of Medicine Hat in turn attracted their countrymen from the Dakotas, thus many American-born German speakers are of this language group also. Many of the descendants, born in Canada, still speak this dialect. A third group of Bessarabian Germans has to be added, viz. those born in Germany between 1940, when all left Bessarabia, and the date of their arrival in Canada. Approximately thirty Bessarabian Germans may be believed to have been born in Germany. The following table summarizes the findings:

German speakers	estimated Bessarabian Germans
1,276 non-Russian speakers born in Russia (presumed to be German speaking)	630
3,916 born in Rumania, USA, Canada	3,500
515 born in Germany	30
5,707 German speakers in total	total Bess. German speakers 4,160

The number of speakers of Bessarabian German in Medicine Hat then is around 4,000.

Prior to 1927, when the Rumanian government stopped all further emigration, Bessarabian Germans coming to Medicine Hat were farmers without exception. They and also those coming from the Dakotas settled on homesteads in the area of Medicine Hat. For some years, a few of the men worked in the city until farming alone sustained the family. Thus almost all men of this group understand English and speak it to some degree, but the women who spent most of their life at home often have no knowledge of English. Families of this type have moved

to the city only at retirement age and still associate mainly with German speakers. Post-World War II immigrants included craftsmen and tradesmen, but only few professionals. For this reason, the German spoken by them is still the dialect and not Standard German. From the very beginning these immigrants established themselves in the city of Medicine Hat and thus came into closer contact with English from the start. The younger they were on arrival in Canada the less Bessarabian German is retained; also if they are married to a non-German and have school-age children the language in the home is English with few exceptions. Bessarabian German now is used mainly in communication with the older generation.

The different life styles of the earlier and later immigrants are reflected in the language also. The older generation who spent most of their life in the country, generally among Bessarabian German neighbours, and now live in the same residental districts in Medicine Hat, has kept the dialect relatively free from foreign influence. They associate mainly with their own language group and have never really identified with the culture and life of Alberta. Except for a weekly German church service this group has no contact with Standard German either. On the other hand the language of the younger generation has been greatly influenced by English and Standard German. To this group belong younger post-World War II immigrants, but also those born in Canada of Bessarabian German parents who still speak the dialect. Because they associate with and live among English speakers, attend activities of the "German Harmony Club", and often have recently taken German in high school, their dialect combines features of Bessarabian German, Standard German and English.

The Bessarabian German dialect in Medicine Hat, therefore, consists of two types, the language of the

older generation and that of the younger people. We shall term the former Bessarabian German (BG) and the latter Canadian Bessarabian German (CBG).

CHAPTER II
PHONOLOGY OF THE BESSARABIAN GERMAN DIALECT IN MEDICINE HAT, ALBERTA

The interviews of the ten informants chosen revealed that their dialect could be grouped into two kinds, (a) one which has different phonemic systems in free variation with each other, and (b) one which has one consistent system. The dialect of this second group is taken to be the original form and is spoken by the four Bessarabian-born persons of whom two do not speak English. The other six informants alternate the original form with English or Standard German sounds. The phonology of the original dialect (BG) is, therefore, described first. The dialect of the younger generation will be dealt with in Chapter VI.

Since BG is a German dialect, no differences from the standard language could be found in certain areas. This was found to be true for word stress, syntactical stress, intonation and juncture. For this reason suprasegmental phonemes are not discussed in this dissertation. Primary word stress will be marked, however, as it is phonemic and it indicates stressed and unstressed syllables. For example, in 'abda:ilon 'partition' and ab'da:ilon 'department' only primary word stress is responsible for the distinction between the two meanings. The advantage of marking primary word stress in all words is that it saves positing phonemically separate unstressed vowels, which reduces the phonemic inventory by two vowels.

The following phonemes are found in BG.

a. Vowels

	front	central	back
upper-high lower-high	i: ɪ		u: ʊ
upper-mid lower-mid	e, e:, ẽ ɛ, ɛ:		o, o:, õ ɔ:
upper-low lower-low		a a:, ã	

b. Consonants

	labial	dento-alveolar	palatal	velar
stops vl.	p	t		k
stops vd.	b	d		g
fricatives	f	s	ɣ̈	h
nasals	m	n		ŋ
laterals		l		
trills		r		

1.0 Phonemes and Morphophonemes

The following analysis of BG phonology is based on morphological as well as phonetic information. In cases where a morpheme consists of phonemically different allomorphs and where the phonemic environment allows the phonetic realization to be predicted, morphological reasons overrule the phonetic as to its notation between slant lines. Here the notation represents morphophonemes rather than the traditional autonomous phonemes. For example, the contracted prefix /g-/ 'ge-' in /'gfala/ 'gefallen' or /gnɛ:d/ 'genäht' will be represented in only one way, i.e. /g/, regardless of the devoicing of the stop before voiceless consonants in /'gfala/ and regardless of the fact that BG does have voiceless stop phonemes in other environments.

Thus /'gfala/ is predictable as [ˈkfala] and /gnɛ:d/, /'gnɛ:de/ as [gnɛ:t] , [ˈgnɛ:də] . Autonomous phonemics would select its phonemes according to phonetic environment. In this instance /g/ and /d/ would precede voiced, /k/ voiceless phonemes, and /t/ would occur elsewhere (usually finally). One can argue that this is phonetic information, which would then oblige us to recognize [k], [g] and [t], [d] as pairs of allophones. Since we need to recognize /k/, /g/ and /t/ , /d/ as phonemes in BG, through minimal pairs like /'taŋga/ 'tanken' and /'daŋga/ 'danken', and /kɛrn/ 'Kern' and /gɛrn/ 'gern', the situation leaves us in the classical dilemma of phonemic overlap. One solution is to downplay the importance of determination through phonetic environment, and to stress the importance of phonemic distinction in all positions. This writer has reversed the priorities because it allows a simplification in notation, which, according to accepted definitions, turns out to be mainly phonemic, but partly morphophonemic. It is morphophonemic only in cases for which phonetic-phonemic information is used to predict the phonetic realization from the phonemic environment. Thus the suffix for past participles will be written /a/ and /d/ in /'gfala/ and /gnɛ:d/, because it is information concerning verb categories that is needed to make the right choice. After this choice, all the information required is contained in the sections describing the "phonemes" (sections 2.0 and 2.1), and [t] will be listed as "allophone" of /d/. Other examples may be [psẽ:] 'besehen' and [tsẽ:] 'Zähne' which will be phonemically /bsẽ/ and /tsẽ/. The voiceless [p] in [psẽ:] is /b/ since it belongs to the prefix {be-} , whereas [t] in [tsẽ:] is part of the morpheme {tsẽ} . For {tsẽ} no reason exists to voice the stop. For morphological reasons the two [tš] clusters in [glatš] 'Klatsch' and [bitš] '(du) bittest' are not the same; we shall write them /glatš/ and /bidš/, because {glatš} is

a single morpheme, and because /bidš/ consists of the two morphemes {bid-} and {-š}. Here the same sound has been assigned to two different phonemes. Our analysis violates biuniqueness, however, since for example [p] can belong to both /p/ or /b/. It does not regard phonetic information as the only source for a phonemic system; the structure of the language is considered also.[1] In this way BG phonemes render lexical representations, and phonological rules handle morphophonemic and allophonic information. From now on we shall use the term phoneme to include what generally is understood as morphophonemes.

The alternation of voiceless and voiced stops /p,t,k/ : /b,d,g/ is different in BG from that in the standard language. Only initially is a distinction made between voiceless and voiced; in addition, initial voiceless stops are aspirated. Intervocalically only voiced stops occur and in final position only voiceless ones. Final stops are always unaspirated and occasionally unreleased. No voice contrast can be found for final stops.[2] If a vowel is added to final [p,t,k] - to form a plural, for example - [b,d,g] result. Therefore, [p,t,k] in final position are treated as allophones of /b,d,g/. For the distribution of stop allophones the following chart can serve as a summary:

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[1]This is in agreement with Kenneth L. Pike, "Grammatical Prerequisites to Phonemic Analysis," Word, III (1947), 155, and K. L. Pike, "More on Grammatical Prerequisites," Word, VIII (1952), 106-121. In systematic phonemics it is possible, too, to include grammar in phonological analyses, although this model has not been followed here. (See P. M. Postal, Aspects of Phonological Theory (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

[2]The same is true for the standard language. In historical linguistics this phenomenon is referred to as "Auslautsverhärtung".

	Initially	Intervocalically	Finally
voiceless	yes	no	yes
voiced	yes	yes	no
aspirated	yes	no	no
unaspirated	yes	yes	yes

The analysis of final voiceless stops as allophones of voiced ones assigns to each morpheme only one base form, and its alternants can be derived by phonological processes with the help of the rule that all voiced stops become voiceless in final position. Thus, for example, /kend/, which is the morpheme {kend} in [kent] 'Kind' and ['kendɔr] 'Kinder' has one basic shape regardless of the morphophonemic alternation. To choose voiced stops over voiceless ones for the notation has the advantage that they convey the information that final stops become voiced when a suffix is added, which is not always true for the standard language, e.g., German bunt, bunte is [bunt], [buntə]. Thus final devoicing is common to both BG and Standard German, but BG has in addition its converse, medial voicing (in voiced surroundings): BG [bont], [bondə]. Hence, while voice contrast is impossible in Standard German only in final position, it is eliminated in medial as well as final position in BG. Because phonetically all BG stops are devoiced finally and voiced medially (in voiced surroundings), we arrange the phonemic ditribution as follows: voiceless stops may occur initially and in partly voiced medial position, e.g., /'paga/ 'pakken' and /'glopfa/ 'klopfen'; voiced stops occur initially, in voiced medial position, and finally, e.g., /'blaiba/ 'bleiben', and /sub/ 'Suppe'. In order to avoid greater complexity of presentation stops in clusters will be treated the same way.

1.1 The Problem of Nasalization

A nasalized vowel seems at first sight to be conditioned by a following nasal, e.g., /ĕm/ 'Biene'. If

it were thus predictable, it would only be an allophone of the corresponding long vowel. However, since there are minimal pairs like /sẽ/ 'Söhne' and /sẽn/ 'sehen' (also /hõ/ 'Huhn' and /hõn/ 'Hohn', or /bã̆/ 'Bahn' and /bã̆n/ 'bahne'), the presence or absence of the following dental nasal does not determine the nasalization. Bilabial and velar nasals are never lost after a nasalized vowel. That nasalization does not occur automatically can be demonstrated also with short vowels. Short vowels are never nasalized when preceding nasals. That nasalization is phonemic is shown by the following pairs: /sõ/ 'Sohn' and /so:/ 'so', /ã/ 'an' and /a:/ 'auch', /sẽ/ 'Söhne' and /se:/ 'See'.

A way to avoid nasalized vowels as phonemes would be to analyze [ẽ] as /e:n/ and [ĕn] as /e:nn/. This implies that [ẽm] would be analyzed as /e:nm/. Two rules would have to be added: 1. /n/ nasalizes preceding long vowels, and 2. the /n/ which causes nasalization is lost. Although these rules are not uncommon in natural languages, they do not account for a number of examples in BG. For instance it would seem inappropriate to analyze /sẽn/ 'sehen' as /se:nn/. The objections are that the introduction of a double nasal is inconsistent with the rest of BG phonology, which lacks double consonants. Also in the history of the dialect no double consonants occurred in this case, and where double nasals did occur there is no nasalization, e.g., MHG sunne : BG /son/ 'Sonne'. To account for the retention of the nasal by a historically motivated /h/ phoneme in the modern BG form would be possible for /sẽn/ 'sehen', since this is MHG sên or sehen, but not for the parallel forms /gẽn, šdẽn/ 'gehen, stehen which are just gên, stên in Middle High German. Thus these rules appear rather arbitrary for BG, although they would eliminate the need for the three nasal vowel phonemes. In a cost-benefit analysis of the decision to retain nasal

vowel phonemes, we have as cost: 1. three nasal vowel phonemes, 2. the unexpressed predictability that a long vowel before a nasal must be nasalized. As benefit we may enumerate: 1. simplification by elimination of the need for two rather un-Bessarabian German structural features, 2. greater ease in interpreting the notation between slant lines. The decision is, therefore, not clear cut, but we shall retain nasal vowel phonemes for BG. The actual existence of phonetic nasalized vowels is more important for the reader of this dissertation than whether nasalization is phonemic or only phonetic.

2.0 Description of Phonemes

The following is an articulatory phonetic description of BG phonemes. The distribution of the phonemes is discussed in Section three.

2.1 Vowels

In contrast to Standard German, BG lacks front rounded vowels, but has the nasalized vowels /ẽ, õ, ã/ and the mid vowels /ɛ, e; o:, ɔ:/.

Phoneme	Allophones	Phonetic description and examples	
/i:/		(Upper-high, front, unrounded vowel, always long when stressed)	
	[i:][3]	/i:/ [i:]	'ich'[4]
		/fi:l/ [fi:l]	'viel'
		/ki:/ [k^hi:]	'Kühe'

[3]The informants who emigrated from Albota and Eichendorf have the diphthongs [iə ~ ia] in free variation with [i:], for them the phoneme /i:/ has two allophones [i:] and [iə ~ ia]. The informant from Albota used the diphthongs more often than the pure long vowel, whereas it is the other way around for the one from Eichendorf.

The /i:/ in sentence-unstressed pronouns is shortened or lowered and shortened, see section 3.13; in this case /i:/ is replaced by /i/, or /e/.

[4]For the sake of simplicity the examples are not translated.

/ɪ/ (Lower-high, front, unrounded vowel, always short)

[ɪ] /ɪš/ [ɪš] 'ist'
/'milih/ ['mɪlɪç] 'Milch'
/'kihe/ ['kʰɪçə] 'Küche'

In complementary distribution with both [i:] and [ɪ] stands [j] , the voiced palatal consonant or semivowel. It is pronounced with or without friction in free variation. [j] occurs syllable-initially before stressed vowels or as second element in vowel sequences where [i:] or [ɪ] never are found. Thus [j] may be considered an allophone of either /i:/ or /i/. As far as its articulation is concerned, the tongue position for [j] is scarcely different from that for [ɪ] and its tongue height is comparable to that of [i:] .

/e:/ (Upper-mid, front, unrounded vowel, always long when stressed)

[e:] /e:b/ [e:p] 'ehe'
/'he:ra/ ['he:ʁa] 'hören'
/tse:/ [tse:] 'Zehe'

/ẽ/ (Upper-mid, front, unrounded stressed vowel, always long and nasalized)

[e:][5] /ẽm/ [ẽ:m] 'Biene'
/'hẽsihd/ ['hẽ:sɪçt] 'Hinsicht'
/tsẽ/ [tsẽ:] 'Zähne, zehn'

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[5] The informant from Albota used the diphthongs [eə~ea] in free variation with [ẽ:] .

/e/ (Upper-mid, front, unrounded allophone [e] always short, occurs only in stressed positions. Since [ə], the upper-mid, central, unrounded, short vowel is found in unstressed positions only, it is in complementary distribution with [e] and both can be considered allophones of /e/.

In unstressed position before /r/ the allophones [ə], [ɜ], and [a] occur in free variation; where [ɜ] is the lower-mid, central, unrounded, and [a] the upper-low, central, unrounded vowel. Thus unstressed /er/ occurs as [ər ~ ɜr ~ ar], and is also replaced frequently by a syllabic [r̩]. Here then the opposition between /e/ and /a/ is neutralized.[6] However, finally in unstressed positions /e/ and /a/ have to be distinguished, and [ə] and [a] are allophones of two separate phonemes, e.g., ['mɛ:dlə] 'Mädchen, sg.', ['mɛ:dla] 'Mädchen, pl.').

[ə~ɜ~a]	/'emer/	['emər] ~ ['emɜr] ~ ['emar] ~ ['emr̩]	'immer'
[e]	/'kelde/	['kʰeldə]	'Kälte'
	/en/	[en]	'in'
	/hel/	[hel]	'Hölle'

/ɛ/ (Lower-mid, front, unrounded vowel, always short)

[ɛ]	/'ɛsa/	['ɛsa]	'essen'
	/hɛl/	[hɛl]	'hell'
	/nɛhd/	[nɛçt]	'Nächte'

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[6] Again we allow phonemic overlap which is not in agreement with some linguists, cf. B. Bloch, "Phonemic Overlapping," Readings in Linguistics (New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958, pp. 93-96.

/ɛ:/ (Lower-mid, front, unrounded vowel, always long when stressed)

[ɛ:] /'ɛ:rə/ ['ɛ:ɾə] 'Ähren'
/'lɛ:bə/ ['lɛ:bə] 'Leben'
/gvɛ:/ [gvɛ:] 'gewesen'

/a:/ (Lower-low, central, unrounded vowel, always long in stressed position)

[a:] /a:/ [a:] 'auch'
/'fa:rə/ ['fa:ɾə] 'fahren'

/ã/ (Lower-low, central, unrounded vowel, always long and nasalized)

[ã:] /ãː/ [ã:] 'an'
/kãm/ [kʰã:m] 'kaum'
/tsã/ [tsã:] 'Zahn, Zaun'

/a/ (Upper-low, central, unrounded vowel, in stressed and unstressed position, always short)

[a] /a'lõi/ [a'lõ:i] 'allein'
/ald/ [alt] 'alt'
/'saxə/ ['saxə] 'Sachen'

/ɔ:/ (Lower-mid, back, rounded vowel, always long when stressed)

[ɔ:] /'ɔ:der/ ['ɔ:dəɾ] 'Ader'
/rɔ:d/ [ɾɔ:t] 'Rat'
/nɔ:/ [nɔ:] 'dann'

/o:/ (Upper-mid, back, rounded vowel, always long when stressed)

[o:] /o:r/ [o:ɾ] 'Ohr'
/ro:d/ [ɾo:t] 'rot'
/so:/ [so:] 'so'

/õ/ (Upper-mid, back, rounded nasalized vowel, always long)

[õ:] /'õglo:ga/ ['õ:glo:ga] 'ungelogen'
/bõm/ [bõ:m] 'Baum'
/sõ/ [sõ:] 'Sohn'

/o/ ([o] is an upper-mid, back, rounded vowel, [ɔ] a lower-mid, back, rounded vowel; both are always short. [o] and [ɔ] are interchangeable in all positions except before /r/ and /-hd/ where only [ɔ] occurs)

[ɔ] /'ɔrndlih/ ['ɔɐ̯ndlɪç] 'ordentlich'
/brohd/ [brɔxt] 'gebracht'

[o] /'oder/ ['odəɐ̯̆]~['ɔdəɐ̯] 'oder'
/'broha/ ['broxa]~['brɔxa] 'gebrochen'

/u/ (Lower-high, back, rounded vowel, always short with two allophones [v̯], and [v] . We analyze [v] as an allophone of /u/. Before stressed vowels [v] occurs, elsewhere [v̯].

It is true that [v̯] and [v] have very little in common as far as articulation is concerned, for [v] in BG is never bilabial, and [v̯] is formed with rounded lips. The tongue dorsum for [v̯] is humped towards the velum, whereas for [v] the tongue position is of no importance. Also [v] occurs as a consonant and is non-syllabic in function, while [v̯] is vocalic always. Thus [v] is far more distinct phonetically from [v̯] than [j] is from [ɛ] or [i:] . However, assigning [v] together with [v̯] to /u/ brings a greater regularity because this arrangement avoids positing a single voiced fricative phoneme in an otherwise voiceless fricative subsystem. For systematic reasons, then, and because [v] and [v̯] are in complementary distribution, [v] does not have the status of a separate phoneme)

	[v]	/uf/ [vf]	'auf'
		/kurts/ [kʰvʊʁts]	'kurz'
	[v]	/'uasser/ ['vasəʁ]	'Wasser'
		/no'uember/ [no'vembəʁ]	'November'
		/'šuešder/ ['švešdəʁ]	'Schwester'
/u:/		(Upper-high, back, rounded vowel, always long when stressed)	
	[u:][7]	/'u:fer/ ['u:fəʁ]	'Ufer'
		/'lu:ge/ ['lu:gə]	'Lüge'
		/ru:/ [ʁu:]	'Ruhe'

All vowels word- or syllable-initially may be preceded by a glottal stop. Its use is not distinctive, thus each vowel may be said to have a glottalized allophone.

The following chart summarizes the findings:

Chart of Vowel Allophones[8]

	front	central	back
upper-high	i:		u:
lower-high	ɪ		ʊ
upper-mid	e, e:, ẽ:	ə	o, o:, õ:
lower-mid	ɛ, ɛ:	ɜ, ɐ̂	ɔ, ɔ:
upper-low		a	
lower-low		a:, ã:	

[7]Emigrants from Albota and Eichendorf vary [u:] with the diphthongs [ʊə ~ ua]. Those from Albota seldom use the pure long vowel while those from Eichendorf prefer it.

[8]For the discussion of [ɐ̂], the allophone of /r/, see section 2.2.

2.2 Consonants

In contrast to Standard German, BG has no voiced alveolar sibilant /z/, and /ç/ and /x/, the two distinct phonemes of the standard language, are in complementary distribution in BG.

Phoneme	Allophones	Phonetic description and examples	
/p/		(Voiceless bilabial stop, aspirated in initial prevocalic position only)	
	[p^h]	/'paga/ [$'p^haga$]	'packen'
	[p]	/pfɛrd/ [pfɛɛt]	'Pferd'
/b/		(Voiced bilabial stop [b] initially and prevocalically, voiceless bilabial stop [p] finally and before voiceless consonants)	
	[b]	/'baga/ ['baga]	'Backe'
	[p]	/šib/ [šɪp]	'Schippe'
		/bsẽ/ [psẽ:]	'besehen'
/t/		(Voiceless dental stop, aspirated in initial, prevocalic position)	
	[t^h]	/'taŋga/ [$'t^haŋga$]	'tanken'
	[t]	/kats/ [k^hats]	'Katze'
/d/		(Voiced dental stop [d] initially and prevocalically, but voiceless [t] finally and preceding voiceless consonants)	
	[d]	/'daŋga/ ['daŋga]	'danken'
		/'muder/ ['mʊdəɾ]	'Mutter'
		/'kašda/ [$'k^hašda$]	'Kasten'
	[t]	/kend/ [k^hent]	'Kind'
		/lišd/ [lɪšt]	'List, Liste'
		/bidš/ [bɪtš]	'(du) bittest'
/k/		(Voiceless velar stop, aspirated in initial prevocalic position only)	
	[k^h]	/kɛrn/ [$k^hɛɛn$]	'Kern'

	[k]	/h:ka/ [h:ka]	'Hexe'
		/daka/ [daka]	'Dache'
/g/		(Voiced velar stop [g] initially preceding vowels and voiced consonants, and voiceless [k] finally and before voiceless consonants)	
	[g]	/g:rn/ [g:ɐn]	'gern'
		/'ma:ga/ ['ma:ga]	'Magen'
		/gmaxt/ [gmaxt]	'gemacht'
	[k]	/da:g/ [da:k]	'Tag'
		/'gfala/ ['kfala]	'gefallen'
/f/		(Voiceless labiodental fricative)	
	[f]	/'fader/ ['fadɐ]	'Vater'
		/'la:fa/ ['la:fa]	'laufen'
		/uf/ [uf]	'auf'
/s/[9]		(Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative)	
	[s]	/'seŋa/ ['seŋa]	'singen'
		/'mɛser/ ['mɛsɐ]	'Messer'
		/nas/ [nas]	'naß'
/š/		(Voiceless palatal grooved fricative)	
	[š]	/šø̄/ [šø̄:]	'schön'
		/'vɛša/ ['vɛša]	'waschen'
		/diš/ [dɪš]	'Tisch'
/h/		(This phoneme has three allophones: [h], [ç] , and [x] . The glottal voiceless fricative [h] occurs initially before stressed vowels; [x] , voiceless and velar, is found after back vowels or the vowel sequence /au/ and [ç] , the voiceless palatal fricative after front vowels, the vowel sequences /ai, a:i/, and consonants)	

[9]The voiced counterpart /z/ is missing in this dialect.

	[h]	/der'hõim/ [dɐɾ'hõ:im]	'daheim'
		/haid/ [hait]	'heute'
	[ç]	/'bi:her/ ['bi:çɐɾ]	'Bücher'
		/'ra:ihra/ ['raːiçɾa]	'räuchern'
		/kirh/ [kʰiɾç]	'Kirche'
	[x][10]	/'ku:ha/ ['kʰu:xa]	'Kuchen'
		/ho:h/ [ho:x]	'hoch'
		/bauh/ [baux]	'Bauch'
/m/		(Bilabial nasal consonant)	
	[m]	/mond/ [mont]	'Mund'
		/'hemel/ ['heməl]	'Himmel'
		/fom/ [fom]	'vom'
/n/		(Dental nasal consonant)	
	[n]	/nus/ [nʊs]	'Nuß'
		/'šõina/ ['šõ:ina]	'scheinen'
		/en/ [en]	'in'
/ŋ/		(Velar nasal consonant)	
	[ŋ]	/'seŋa/ ['seŋa]	'singen'
		/eŋ/ [eŋ]	'eng'
/l/		(Voiced, alveolar, clear lateral[11])	
	[l]	/'lefel/ ['lefəl]	'Löffel'
		/'šɛla/ ['šɛla]	'läuten'

[10] In Standard German /ç/ and /x/ are separate phonemes because in the diminutive suffix ['-çən] '-chen', the fricative is always palatal regardless of the preceding phoneme, so the standard language has minimal pairs like ['tauxən] 'tauchen' and ['tauçən] 'Tauchen', or ['ku:xən] 'Kuchen' and ['ku:çən] 'Kuhchen'. The diminutive suffix -chen is foreign to BG, it uses -le. Therefore, in this dialect [ç] is always in complementary distribution with [x], and both [ç] and [x] are allophones of one phoneme, i.e. /h/. The Standard German examples are cited from W. G. Moulton, The Sounds of English and German (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 32.

[11] Immigrants from Eichendorf pronounce velarized laterals before dental consonants.

/r/ (The apico-alveolar consonant is heavily trilled in all positions, except before alveolar or palatal consonants, where [ɚ] occurs, a non-syllabic lower-mid, central, unrounded vowel)

[ɾ][12]	/'ruːsə/ [ˈɾʊsə]	'Russen'
	/'heːrə/ ['heːɾə]	'hören'
	/hɔːr/ [hɔːɾ]	'Haar'
[ɚ]	/gɛrəd/ [gɛɚət]	'Gerste'
	/ʃdɛrn/ [ʃdɛɚn]	'Stern'

Chart of Consonant Allophones[13]

	bilabial	lab.-dent.	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops asp.	pʰ		tʰ			kʰ	
stops vl.	p		t			k	
stops vd.	b		d			g	
fricatives vl.		f		s	ʃ, ç	x	h
fricatives vd.		v			j		
nasals	m		n			ŋ	
laterals				l			
trills				ɾ			

[12] Albert Eckert, Die Mundarten der deutschen Mutterkolonien Bessarabiens und ihre Stammheimat, DDG, XL (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1941), p. 33 considers "das ausgeprägte Zungenspitzen-r" a conspicuous sign of Bessarabian German, but W. Mitzka noticed a distinctly pronounced ("energisch articuliert") tongue tip [ɾ] for Baltic German, too. (Cf. Walther Mitzka, Studien zum baltischen Deutsch, DDG, XVII (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1923), p. 34.

[13] [ɚ], the allophone of /r/ is listed with vowel allophones under section 2.1, since it is a vowel, but we include [j] and [v], although they are part of the vowel phonemes /i/ or /iː/, and /u/, because they are consonantal allophones.

3.0 The Distribution of Phonemes

In this section single phonemes are discussed first, and examples given according to their distribution; then sequences of vowels and consonants are analyzed.

3.10 Vowels

3.11 Nasalized vowels: Historically, following nasals have lowered high vowels to mid vowels, therefore no high vowels are found now before nasals, except for the /i/ in the vowel sequence /õi/, e.g., /kend/ 'Kind', /grẽ/ 'grün', /'õgna:u/ 'ungenau', /hõ/ 'Huhn', /kõim/ 'Keim'.

3.12 Long vowels occur before single consonants word initially and medially or in absolute final position, for example /a:g/ 'Auge', /e:ba/ 'eben', /ni:/ 'nie'. The long vowels /e:, ɛ:, a:, o:/ are found occasionally preceding consonant clusters also if the first consonant is /r/, e.g., /e:rš̆d/ 'erst', /hɛ:rd/ 'Herd', /ba:rd/ 'Bart', /do:rš̆ih/ 'Kohlstrunk'. Long vowels before nasals are always nasalized, e.g., /ẽm/ 'Biene'.

3.13 Short vowels: Stressed short vowels regularly occur only before consonants as in Standard German; however, there is one example in BG of a short vowel in unchecked stressed position, namely /š̆o/ 'schon', besides exclamations like /no/ 'nun' or /ha/ 'pardon', just as there is the example of /na/ 'nun (exclamation)' in Standard German. Examples: /ih/ 'ich', /'kema/ 'kämmen', /hɛl/ 'hell', /ald/ 'alt', /dorf/ 'Dorf', /uf/ 'auf'.

The upper-mid stressed vowels [o] and [e] do not occur before /r/ or /-hd/, [ɔ] and [ɛ] are found instead, e.g., /dorf/ [dɔrf] 'Dorf', /brohd/ [brɔxt] 'gebracht', /'ɛrger/ ['ɛrgər] 'Ärger', /ɛhd/ [ɛçt] 'echt'.

In the flow of speech, final long vowels of sentence-unstressed pronouns like /si:/ 'sie' or /i:/ 'ich' are shortened except before words starting with a vowel, e.g., i si: se ned 'ich sehe sie nicht' but i: 'ender des 'ich ändere das'.

Phoneme	Initially	Medially	Finally
/i:/	/i:/'ich'	/fi:h/'Vieh'	/ni:/'nie'
	/i:r/'ihr'	/si:s/'süß'	/mi:/'Mühe'
/i/	/iš/'ist'	/kirh/'Kirche'	-
	/ih/'ich'	/niks/'nichts'	
/e:/	/e:b/'ehe'	/'he:ra/'hören'	/ge:/'gehe'
	/e:rŝd/'erst'	/'le:ga/'legen'	/tse:/'Zehe'
/ẽ/	/ẽm/'Biene'	/guẽnd/'gewöhnt'	/kẽ/'Kinn'
	/'ẽne/'Großvater'	/'hẽner/'Hühner'	/grẽ/'grün'
/e/	/eŋ/'eng'	/hel/'Hölle'	/'kise/'Kissen'
	/er'uard/'erwartet'	/kend/'Kind'	/'kelde/'Kälte'
/ɛ/	/'ɛsa/'essen'	/šdɛl/'Ställe'	
	/'ɛsa/'Asche'	/nɛhd/'Nächte'	-
	/'ɛrba/'Erben'	/hɛl/'hell'	
/ɛ:/	/'ɛ:ra/'Ähren'	/mɛ:l/'Mehl'	/guɛ:/'gewesen'
	/'ɛ:ba/'deshalb'	/gɛ:l/'gelb'	/gɛ:/'gegeben'
/a:/	/a:g/'Auge'	/gra:d/'gerade'	/a:/'auch'
	/a:rd/'Art'	/tsa:l/'Zahl'	
/ã/	/ã/'an'	/kãm/'kaum'	/nã/'hin'
	/'ãna/'Ahne'	/lãm/'lahm'	/brã/'braun'
/a/	/a'lõi/'allein'	/farb/'Farbe'	/'mesa/'müssen'
	/ašd/'Ast'	/'basder/'Pastor'	/'mɛ:dla/'Mädchen, pl.'
/ɔ:/	/'ɔ:der/'Ader'	/nɔ:d/'Naht'	/lɔ:/'lau'
	/'ɔ:sa/'toben'	/blɔ:g/'Plage'	/blɔ:/'blau'
	/ɔ:s/'Aas'	/dɔ:hd/'Docht'	/nɔ:/'dann'
/o:/	/o:r/'Ohr'	/no:d/'Not'	/ro:/'roh'
	/'o:fa/'Ofen'	/ho:h/'hoch'	/so:/'so'
	/'o:ba/'oben'	/ro:d/'rot'	/fro:/'froh'

/õ/	/'õglo:ga/'unge-	/blõm/'Blume'	/lõ/'Lohn'
	logen'	/bõm/'Baum'	/sõ/'Sohn'
/o/	/'orndlih/'or-	/dorf/'Dorf'	/šo/'schon'
	dentlich'	/brohd/'gebracht'	/no/'nun (ex-
	/'oder/'oder'	/glog/'Glocke/	clamation'
/u/	/uf/'auf'	/mug/'Mücke'	
	/ui:/'wie'	/kurts/'kurz'	-
	/uarm/'warm'	/rus/'Russe'	
/u:/	/u:r/'Uhr'	/ku:r/'Kur'	/du:/'du'
	/'u:fer/'Ufer'	/gu:d/'gut'	/ku:/'Kuh'.

3.2 Diphthongs

While Standard German has only three diphthongs, BG has five. We shall try to analyze them as vowel sequences, to avoid setting up separate unit phonemes for diphthongs. Since these vowel sequences never occur except as falling diphthongs there is no possibility of a contrast, diphthong : vowel sequence. Presented in tabular form, the scheme is $\begin{bmatrix} /a/ \\ /a:/ \\ /\tilde{o}/ \end{bmatrix}$ + /i/ and $\begin{bmatrix} /a/ \\ /a:/ \end{bmatrix}$ + /u/.

Again the nasal causes difficulty; whereas the four clusters $\begin{bmatrix} /a/ \\ /a:/ \end{bmatrix}$ + $\begin{bmatrix} /i/ \\ /u/ \end{bmatrix}$ with a high vowel as second element are never found before nasals (because historically nasals have lowered high vowels) the fifth, nasalized /õi/ does occur preceding nasals. Thus /õi/ represents a unique case; nowhere else but in this sequence does a high vowel precede a nasal. This seems to require the treatment of /õi/ as a unit diphthong, say /õ$\tilde{y}$/, the advantage being that [i] would never occur before nasals. However, the disadvantage is that separate phonemes would be required for diphthongs. It also conceals this real exception in BG phonology, where [i] does occur before nasals in the

sequence /õi/ + nasal. We shall, therefore, regard all BG diphthongs as vowel sequences. Examples of them will be given in Appendix III.

3.3 Consonants

In contrast to Standard German, voiceless stops never occur between vowels, e.g., fuder 'Futter', hɔ:ga 'Haken'. Also, because [ç] , [x] , [h] are all allophones of one phoneme, /h/ in BG occurs in all positions and not just initially as in the standard language.

This analysis treats /pf, ts/ as sequences of phonemes rather than single units (affricates). Although they are meaningfully distinctive in certain environments in their entirety, as for example in /pfail/ 'Pfeil' and /fail/ 'Feile', or /šuts/ 'Schutz' and /šus/ 'Schuß', but in other environments only their first or second element contrasts. For /pf/, for example, we find distinctive opposition of the first element in /dopf/ 'Topf' and /dorf/ 'Dorf', of the second in /hopfa/ 'Hopfen' and /hopsa/ 'hüpfen'. The first element of /ts/ is distinctive in /šlits/ 'Schlitz' and /šlips/ 'Krawatte', the second in /tsɛha/ 'zebhen' and /'tšɛha/ 'Tschechen'. Since /pf, ts/ are not always distinctive in their totality, they are considered each as sequences of two phonemes.[14]

Phoneme	Initially	Medially	Finally
/p/	/'paga/'packen'	/'glopfa/'klopfen'	-
	/pfɛrd/'Pferd'	/'hopsa/'hüpfen'	

[14]For the second and fifth pair of examples I am indebted to N. Morciniec, "Zur phonologischen Wertung der deutschen Affrikaten und Diphthonge," ZfPh, XI (1958), 58 and 61.

/b/	/'baga/'Backe'	/'blaiba/'blei-	/sub/'Suppe'
	/brais/'Preis'	ben'	/šib/'Schippe'
	/bhald/[15]'behal-	/bɐ'bi:r/'Papier	/le:b/'Löwe'
	te'		
/t/	/teː/'Tee'	/'kitsla/'ki-	-
	/tsa:l/'Zahl'	tzeln'	
		/hets/'Hetze'	
/d/	/daš/'Tasche'	/'fuder/'Futter'	/kišd/'Kiste'
	/dol/'toll'	/'dǫhder/'Toch-	/land/'Land'
	/dorf/'Dorf'	ter'	/do:d/'tot'
/k/	/kɛrn/'Kern'	/hɛks/'Hexe'	
	/kab/'Kappe'	/fuks/'Fuchs'	-
/g/	/gɛrn/'gern'	/'ma:ga/'Magen'	/šaŋg/'Schrank'
	/gsẽ/'gesehen'	/'hɔ:ga/'Haken'	/sag/'Sack'
	/'ghenderd/[15]	/'si:ger/'Sieger'	/brig/'Brücke'
	'gehindert'		
/f/	/fu:s/'Fuß'	/'la:fa/'laufen'	/uf/'auf'
	/fiš/'Fisch'	/'he:flih/'höf-	/šaf/'schaffe'
	/'fader/'Vater'	lich'	
/s/	/'seŋa/'singen'	/'mɛser/'Messer'	/fas/'Faß'
	/sorg/'Sorge'	/'basder/'Pa-	/gans/'Gans'
	/sah/'Sache'	stor'	/fu:s/'Fuß'
/š/	/šnɛl/'schnell'	/'košda/'kosten'	/diš/'Tisch'
	/šlam/'Schlamm'	/'naša/'naschen'	/hutš/'Fohlen'

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[15]The voiced stop of the contracted prefixes /b-/ 'be-' and /g-/ 'ge-' and the following voiceless fricative /h/ result in a fortis voiceless aspirated pronunciation of the stop:
/b/ + /h/ = [p^h], e.g., /bhald/ [p^halt] 'behalte'
/g/ + /h/ = [k^h], e.g., /ghenderd/ [k^hendɐ̃t] 'gehindert, in a more general way, one could say: Cvl + /h/ = Cvl^h.

/h/	/ho:f/'Hof'	/'he:her/'höher'	/fi:h/'Vieh'
	/'he:ba/'heben'		/a:ih/'Eiche'
	/'hena/'hinten'	/nahd/'Nacht'	/bah/'Bach'
/m/	/mo:s/'Moos'	/'ǒimer/'Eimer'	/kom/'komme'
	/mɔ:s/'Maß'	/'hemel/'Himmel'	/em/'im'
	/'muder/'Mutter'	/'lomba/'Lumpen'	/áǒm/'Saum'
/n/	/nus/'Nuß'	/'šoina/'scheinen'	/han/'haben'
	/nɔ:/'nahe		/sen/'sind'
	/'nɛ:ba/'neben'	/menš/'Mensch'	/ban/'Bann'
/ŋ/		/'seŋa/'singen'	/haŋ/'Vorhang'
	-	/'heŋga/'hinken'	/loŋ/'Lunge'
/l/	/laib/'Leib'	/'fala/'fallen'	/hɛl/'hell'
	/lašd/'Last'	/'gɛ:le/'gelbe'	/sa:l/'Saal'
	/li:d/'Lied'	/'mɔ:la/'malen'	/kɛrl/'Kerl'
/r/	/'raiba/'reiben	/grẽ/'grün'	/hɔ:r/'Haar'
	/ri:b/'Rübe'	/'gɛ:ra/'gären'	/fo:r/'vor'
	/rõi/'herein'	/marks/'Mark'	/hɛ:r/'her'.

3.4 Consonant Clusters

Just as in Standard German, double consonants do not occur in BG. In sequences of two consonants word-initially /p, b, t, f, s, š/ occur as first elements, word-finally also /h, k, m, n, n, l, r/. Thus nasals, laterals and trills do not occur initially in consonant clusters. As second elements in a sequence, /b, d, g, h, f, s, š, m, n, l, r/ occur word-initially, word-finally /h, l, r/ are missing from this list. In contrast to the standard language, BG has initial clusters /bs, bš, gs, gš, gf/ as for example in /bsẽ/ 'besehen', /bša:id/ 'Bescheid', /gsihd/ 'Gesicht', /gšihd/ 'Geschichte', /'gfara/ 'gefahren'. In clusters of three elements initially /s, š, g/ are found as first, /b, g, š/ as second, and /m, n, l, r/ as third element. Word finally /p, t, h, m,

n, l, r/ occur first, /d, t, k, h, f, š/ second, and /d, s, š/ third. Possible combinations and examples are given in Appendix III.

Final clusters are potential medial consonant sequences because of the possibility of adding a vowel or /-er/, in which case the final (phonetically) voiceless stop of the cluster becomes (phonetically) voiced (phonemically it remains the same. See pp. 31f).

CHAPTER III
MORPHOLOGY OF THE BESSARABIAN GERMAN DIALECT IN MEDICINE HAT, ALBERTA

In the following description of Bessarabian German morphology salient features different from Standard German are emphasized. Since a grammatical form is better understood when its function and position among other forms is shown, the morphology will not be treated in isolation, but rather with the syntax where desirable. The chapter is divided into four parts, 1. nouns, 2. pronouns and articles, 3. adjectives and adverbs, and 4. verbs. A short reference grammar will be found in Appendix VI.

1.0 Nouns

1.1 Plural Formation

Most Bessarabian German (BG) nouns are inflected for two numbers, singular and plural, e.g., sg. daš 'Tasche',[1] pl. daša 'Taschen'. In the singular, three genders are distinguished: masculine, feminine, and neuter.

Examples: masc. dɛ:r šaŋg 'der Schrank'
fem. di: blõm 'die Blume'
neut. des haus 'das Haus'.

There are three cases: nominative, accusative, dative. They are kept separate in the masculine. The forms of the definite article are: N dɛ:r, A den, D dem. In the feminine, the neuter, and the plural, the nominative and accusative overlap while the dative is different.[2]

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[1]Except in charts, BG examples are underlined and translated into Standard German. When Standard German examples are given alone, these are underlined.

[2]Martha Shrier found the same in southwest German dialects. Cf. Martha Shrier, "Case Systems in German Dialects," Language, XLI (1965), 420-438. The same is true for Standard German.

	masc.	fem.	neut.	plural
N	dɛ:r	di:	des	di:
A	den			
D	dem	dɛ:ra	dem	dene

Since the genitive case is foreign to this dialect, possession is expressed by the dative article with the following possessive adjective or by a prepositional phrase.

Example:

dem man sõin hu:d or dɛ:r hu:d fon dem man 'der Hut des Mannes'.

It is true that there is no independent genitive case in BG as there is in the standard language. However, there are a number of idiomatic expressions which show this case, too, e.g., 'morgads 'morgens', 'ãfaŋs der uoh 'anfangs der Woche', 'õisda:ils 'einesteils', oms 'hemels 'uila 'um Himmels Willen', and others. (For a more complete list see Appendix IV).

Cases are not indicated in nouns by suffixation as they are in Standard German; only articles and adjectives permit case and gender endings. Thus a form like harts 'Herz' functions in all three cases in the singular.

In many instances noun roots with the vowels /a, a: ã; o, o: õ; u, u:/ and the diphthong /au/ alternate with forms containing the phonemes /e, ɛ:, ẽ; e, e:, ẽ; i, i:; ai/ respectively, that is, in contrast to Standard German, back-rounded and central vowels vary with front-unrounded in the same paradigmatic set. The following chart may serve as an illustration:

vowel	a	a:	ã	o	o:	õ	u	u:	au
alternating vowel	e	ɛ:	ẽ	e	e:	ẽ	i	i:	ai

Examples are given in the function singular vs. plural, but the same phenomenon could be demonstrated in the contrast base form vs. diminutive:

hand	'Hand'	:	hend	'Hände'
da:g	'Tag'	:	dɛ:g	'Tage'
tsã	'Zahn'	:	tsẽ	'Zähne'
tsopf	'Zopf'	:	tsepf	'Zöpfe'
ko:r	'Chor'	:	ke:r	'Chöre'
sõ	'Sohn'	:	sẽ	'Söhne'
kus	'Kuß'	:	kis	'Küsse'
fu:s	'Fuß'	:	fi:s	'Füße'
maus	'Maus'	:	mais	'Mäuse'

This vowel alternation or umlaut is not predictable. In other nouns, umlaut does not occur, e.g., sg. kan 'Kanne', pl. kana 'Kannen', sg. hond 'Hund', pl. hond 'Hunde', sg. mušder 'Muster', pl. mušder 'Muster'.

The plural is contrasted with the singular (a) by one of two suffixes, (b) by a different vowel within the limits of the umlauting alternation described above, (c) by both together, or (d) by neither. Final /e/ is lost before a plural suffix so as to prevent certain vowel sequences which are foreign to the language, e.g., the singular form kise 'Kissen' plus the plural allomorph /-a/ gives the form kisa 'Kissen, pl.'. There is no /ea/ cluster in this dialect.

The BG plural formation can be described in two ways. In the first method a plural morpheme {P} may be set up with five allomorphs in complementary distribution, where {U} is the umlaut morpheme, then

{P} = 1. /-ø/
2. {U} + /-ø/
3. /-a/ or /-ena/
4. /-er/
5. {U} + /-er/

There is no /-s/ plural suffix in BG.[3]

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[3]In Standard German the plural suffix /-s/ occurs in foreign words like 'Radios, Sofas, Kinos', BG in these cases has the same form for singular and plural.

The second method of describing BG plural would set up three classes of nouns each having one or two roots. Those with two roots use the first for the singular, the second with the plural suffix. The laws for the morphological alternation (i.e. umlaut) allow one to predict the form of the plural root with the exception of bu: 'Junge', which shows addition of phonemes. According to this solution just three plural suffix allomorphs have to be postulated, namely

1. /-ø/
2. /-a/ or /-ena/
3. /-er/.

If we choose the second method for its fewer endings (although it complicates the lexicon) the following examples will demonstrate the three plural allomorphs:

Class I (zero suffix)

(a) nouns with one root: epfel + ø 'Äpfel'
b&rg + ø 'Berge'
fenšder + ø 'Fenster, pl.'

(b) nouns with two roots: sg. bõm
pl. bẽm + ø 'Bäume'

sg. arm
pl. &rm + ø 'Arme'

sg. maus
pl. mais + ø 'Mäuse'.

Class II (suffix /-a/, or /-ena/ for feminine nouns ending in /-e/ in the singular)

(a) nouns with one root:
masculine or neuter nouns: ui:g + a 'Wiegen'
menš + a 'Menschen'
šuešder + a 'Schwestern'
m&:dle + a 'Mädchen, pl.'[4]

[4] Unstressed /e/ is lost before suffixes.

feminine nouns: lu:ge + ena 'Lügen'
lɛ:rere + ena 'Lehrerinnen'
uidue + ena 'Witwen'

(b) nouns with two roots: do not exist.

Class III (suffix /-er/)

(a) nouns with one root: bed + er 'Betten'
kend + er 'Kinder'
gla:id + er 'Kleider'
hɛrts + er 'Herzen'

(b) nouns with two roots:

sg. man
pl. men + er 'Männer'

sg. bu:h
pl. bi:h + er 'Bücher'

sg. uord
pl. uɛrd + er 'Wörter'.

1.2 Diminutives

There is only one diminutive suffix, i.e. {-le} in BG with the plural {-la} . All diminutives are neuter as in Standard German, and their root usually occurs with umlaut, e.g., kalb 'Kalb', dim. sg. kɛlble 'Kälbchen', dim. pl. kɛlbla 'Kälbchen' without umlaut for example in bu:le 'Büblein, sg.', bu:la 'Büblein, pl.' to bu: 'Junge'.

1.3 Formation and Gender of Nouns

As in the standard language, BG nouns may be formed by adding noun suffixes to infinitives, adjectives, or verb roots. The feminizing suffix in BG is /-e/ '-in' (plural /-ena/ '-innen'), e.g., senɛr-e 'Sängerin' (pl. senɛr-ena 'Sängerinnen).

BG noun genders coincide with those of the standard language with the exception of dɛ:r buder 'die Butter', dɛ:r bang 'die Bank', dɛ:r pahd 'die Pacht', and dɛ:r farm

'die Farm'. As in Standard German semantic classes often determine gender.

2.0 Pronouns and Articles

2.1 Personal Pronouns

Singular

	1st	2nd	3rd m	3rd n	3rd f
N	i:(ih)/i(e)	du:	ɛ:r/er	ɛs/es/s	si:/se
A	mi:/me	di:/de	ə̃n/en	"	"
D	mi:r/mer(me)	di:r/der (de)	ə̃m/em	ə̃m/em	i:ra/ra

Plural

	1st	2nd	3rd
N	mi:r/mer	i:r/er	si:/se
A	ons	aih/ih	"
D	ons	aih/ih	ə̃ne/ne

Forms in parentheses alternate freely with the main ones in the speech of the Bessarabian-born informants. For the first person singular, for example, i: or ih are used interchangeably in the nominative case. When unstressed, shortened pronouns occur; they are given following the slanted line. Examples: i han der 'gholfa 'ich habe dir geholfen', s mahd niks 'es macht nichts', se gibd mer des 'sie gibt mir das'.

With personal pronouns, the dative may replace the accusative[5], but not vice versa; this is also true after prepositions, thus i: si: di:r (or di:) 'ich sehe dich' is possible, but i: half di:r 'ich helfe dir', ə̃ne di:r (or di:) 'ohne dich', but aus di:r 'aus dir'.

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[5] A. Eckert believes this to be an influence of Low German. (Cf. Albert Eckert, Die Mundarten der deutschen Mutterkolonien Bessarabiens und ihre Stammheimat, DDG, XL (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1941), p. 94).

When a dative and an accusative pronoun occur in one sentence, the dative or accusative may follow the verb, unlike Standard German, e.g., i: tsa:ig di:r s or i: tsa:ig s di:r[6] 'ich zeige es dir'.

2.11 Personal Pronouns in Addresses

For the polite address, BG uses the second person plural pronoun and its verb form. Example: gẽn i:r 'gehen Sie'. Older relatives and strangers are addressed in this way. All Bessarabian-born informants used the polite address for their parents, for example, and consider it an innovation of the younger generation to employ the familiar du: 'du' on these occasions.

2.2 Reflexive Pronouns

BG uses personal pronouns as reflexive pronouns for the first and second person singular and plural only in the dative form. Sih 'sich' is used for the third persons. Examples: i: uɛš mi:r 'ich wasche mich', i: hɛlf mi:r 'ich helfe mir'. In substandard language, sih 'sich' also occurs for first person plural, e.g., mi:r hen sih fer'hairad 'wir haben uns verheiratet'. What is meant with "substandard language" is that the more educated of the Bessarabian-born informants consider it wrong while the less educated among them use it.

2.3 Demonstrative Pronouns and the Definite Article

The definite article is used as demonstrative pronoun throughout, except for dative plural where dene 'denen' occurs, e.g., dɔ: sen 'mõine frõind; mid 'dene ge: i: iets 'hier sind meine Freunde, mit denen gehe ich jetzt'. In substandard language, the demonstrative pro-

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[6] When unstressed, the personal pronoun ɛs 'es' is used as an enclitic on the verb.

noun is used interchangeably in the accusative or nominative for the direct object or after prepositions requiring accusative, e.g., ɛ:r si:d den (or dɛ:r) man 'er sieht den Mann, durh den (or dɛ:r) ʉender 'durch den Winter'.

2.4 Relative Pronouns

There are three base morphemes for the relative pronoun: {d-} with the inflectional suffixes of the demonstrative pronouns, depending on the noun it refers to, {uo:}, and {uas}. Each one of the three may stand alone, but there is also the combination of the first with any of the others.

Examples of possible variants:

(dɛ:r man), dɛ:r (or den in the accusative) ... 'der Mann, der (or den)'

" , uo: ...

" , uas ...

" , dɛ:r uo: ... (den uo: in the accusative)

" , dɛ:r uas ... (den uas in the accusative)

The relative pronoun uo: alone is most commonly used in the nominative and accusative. It (just as uas) stands for any gender, case, or number of the preceding noun. In the dative, however, the combination of the article with uo: or uas is preferred,[7] e.g., dɛ:r man, uo: des bu:h 'gšri:ba had 'der Mann, der das Buch geschrieben hat', des iš des ho'del, in dem uo: si: (not in dem si:) guõnd had 'das ist das Hotel, in dem sie wohnte'.

Where Standard German uses a relative pronoun in the genitive case, BG has the dative with a possessive pronoun.

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[7] I. Dal noticed this tendency also in Rappenau/Switzerland. (Cf. Ingerid Dal, "Systemerhaltende Tendenzen in hochdeutschen Mundarten," WW, Sammelband I (1962), 136).

2.5 Indefinite Article

The indefinite article takes its own set of inflectional suffixes. Its base form is {õi-} (or {kõi-} for the negative). When unstressed the base form is {a-}. The inflectional endings are as follows:

	Singular			Plural
	masc.	neut.	fem.	m, n, f
N/A	-n	-ø	-ø	-e
D	-m	-m	-nra/ ra	-e

Examples:

õin (or an) šdu:l 'ein, einen Stuhl', õi (or a) haus 'ein Haus', mid (õin-)ra ʻfɛ:der 'mit einer Feder' ʻkõine ʻkender 'keine Kinder'.

So: õi- may vary in the masculine with an 'soda, which has no equivalent in Standard German, e.g., so: õin (or an soda) frõind 'so/ solch ein Freund', but only so: õi kend 'so/ solch ein Kind', so: õi fra: 'so/ solch eine Frau'.

2.6 Possessive Pronouns and ein and kein as Pronouns

Possessive pronouns and the indefinite pronoun {õi-} and {kõi-} take the inflectional suffixes of the definite article. The base forms of the possessive adjectives are:

Singular				Plural		
1st	2nd	3rd m,n	3rd f	1st	2nd	3rd
mõi-	dõi-	sõi-	i:r-	onser	aier	i:r
				onsr-	air-	

If the endings of the definite article are added to a whole syllable base morph, the suffixes shorten their vowel to /e/, e.g., i:r + -ɛ:r = i:rer 'ihrer'.

Examples with the use of possessive pronouns:

dɔ: iš mõin hu:d, uo: iš ʻdõiner 'hier ist mein Hut, wo ist deiner'

uo: iš õi loh, i: si: kõis 'wo ist ein Loch, ich sehe

keines'.

2.7 Other Pronouns

As is shown by the above, pronouns can be classed into two groups: there are (a) those that take inflectional endings from the definite article, and (b) those that are not inflected. We use this basic division for the following:

Group (a): (suffixes are those of the definite article)

sɛl-[8] 'solcher, jener', e.g., uo: iš 'sɛler 'wo ist jener'

uel- 'welcher', e.g., 'ueler ua:r des 'welcher war das'

u- 'wer', e.g., uɛ:r komd 'wer kommt'

ɛle- 'alle', e.g., ɛle 'senad 'alle singen'

manh- 'mancher', e.g., 'manhe kend des 'manche können das'

ie:d- 'jeder', e.g., en 'ie:dem (land) 'in jedem (Land)'.

Group (b): (no suffixes)

nẽmerd 'niemand'

ɛber 'jemand'

ɛbes 'etwas'

niks 'nichts'

mer 'man' (exists only in the nominative, in all other cases the indefinite article is used).

mid ua:s 'womit' (all prepositions can precede ua:s, which is stressed. In stressed position uas lengthens its vowel. There are no wo- compounds in BG)

a ba:r 'ein paar'.

Examples:

ɛ:r si:d 'ɛber (nẽmerd, 'ɛbes, niks) 'er sieht jemand (niemand, etwas, nichts)'

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[8] In the neuter sɛl- and uel- are endingless.

mer sa:gd des ned 'man sagt das nicht'
a ba:r gibd s noh 'ein paar gibt es noch'
mid ua:s fa:rš du: 'womit fährst du'.

3.0 Adjectives and Adverbs

3.1 Adjectival Suffixes

There are three sets of adjectival suffixes in BG depending on the determiners that precede them. Class I determiners, Class II determiners, or neither may precede an adjective. Class I determiners are all those that take the endings of the definite article, Class II determiners are those which take the endings of the indefinite article. Thus to Class I belong the definite article, and those pronouns that are listed under 2.7. The indefinite article, the possessive adjective and the negative indefinite article /kŏi-/ are Class II words.

Examples of adjectival endings:

(a) masculine

Class I	Class II		Adjectives		Noun
			nominative		
d- ɛ:r/der		-	ald-	e	(man)
	õi-	n	nai-	er	(hu:d)
			kald-	er	('kafe)
			accusative		
d- en		-	ald-	a	(man)
	õi-	n	nai-	a	(hu:d)
			kald-	er	('kafe)
			dative		
d- em		-	ald-	a	(man)
	õi-	m	nai-	a	(hu:d)
			kald-	em	('kafe)

(b) neuter

			nominative and accusative		
d- es		-	uais-	e	(haus)
	õi-	ø	gro:s-	es	('fenšder)
			ha:is-	es	('uaser)
			dative		
d- em		-	uais-	a	(haus)
	õi-	m	gro:s-	a	('fenšder)
			ha:is-	em	('uaser)

(c) feminine

			nominative and accusative		
d- i:		-	gu:d-	ø	(fra:)
	õi-	ø	bra:id-	e	(šdrɔ:s)
			friš-	e	('milih)
			dative		
d- ɛ:ra/der		-	gu:d-	a	(fra:)
	õi-n-ra[9]		bra:id-	a	(šdrɔ:s)
		(mid)	friš-	er	('milih)

(d) plural

			nominative and accusative		
d- i:		-	li:b-	e	('kender)
	kõi-n-e		daitš-	e	(laid)
			ioŋ-	e	('fe:gel'
			dative		
d-ene		-	li:b-	e	('kender'
	kõi-n-e		daitš-	e	(laid)
			ioŋ-	e	('fe:gel)

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[9]Any suffix, except a nasal, added to a nasalized vowel or a nasalized diphthong requires the addition of the dental nasal /-n-/. An exception to this rule occurs for the feminine indefinite article when it functions as an adjective. In this instance a dental stop varies with the dental nasal in the dative case, but in the nominative and accusative it is always a dental stop, e.g.,
N/A di: õid fra: 'die eine Frau'
D 'dɛ:ra õida (or õina) fra: 'der einen Frau'.

From these examples the following system of adjectival endings may be deduced:

I (suffixes for adjectives preceded by Class I determiners)

	Singular			Plural
	masc.	neut.	fem.	m, n, f
N	-e	-e	-ø	-e
A	-a	-e	-ø	-e
D	-a	-a	-a	-e

II (suffixes for adjectives preceded by Class II determiners)

	Singular			Plural
	masc.	neut.	fem.	m, n, f
N/A	-er	-es	-e	-e
D	-a	-a	-a	-e

III (suffixes for unpreceded adjectives)

	Singular			Plural
	masc.	neut.	fem.	m, n, f
N/A	-er	-es	-e	-e
D	-em	-em	-er	-e

This summary shows clearly only one plural adjectival ending; except for the masculine accusative singular, /-a/ is a sign for the dative singular in preceded adjectives, and nominative and accusative inflectional endings are the same for unpreceded adjectives and adjectives preceded by Class II determiners. In general, the greater the amount of case-number-gender information is contained in the determiner, the less is contained in the adjective ending, and vice versa.

3.2 Possessive Adjectives

Possessive adjectives have the same base morphemes as possessive pronouns which are listed under 2.6; their endings are those of the indefinite article (see 2.5). Examples: sõi 'aldes haus iš 'abgrisa 'uora, das blats iš fer 'i:re 'naie 'šõine 'sein altes Haus wurde

abgerissen, damit Platz ist für ihre neue Scheune', 'onser 'audo basd ned en 'aier ga'ra:š 'unser Auto paßt nicht in eure Garage'.

3.3 Comparison of Adjectives and Adverbs

There are three degrees of comparison for adjectives: positive, comparative, and superlative. Comparative and superlative are formed by inserting /-er-/, and /-šd-/ respectively, between the adjective stem and the inflectional suffix. The positive degree has no suffix. Some adjectives require additional devices to show comparison, these are morphophonemic alternation (i.e. umlaut), or suppletion of the adjectival stems. Thus there are two classes of adjectives, a one-stem and a two-stem class. In the two-stem class, the second stem is used for the comparative and superlative degrees. Examples:

Class I (one-stem adjectives)

positive		comparative	superlative
šlɛhd-	'schlecht'	(stem) + -er-	(stem) + -šd-
šbɛ:d-	'spät'	" + -er-	" + -šd-
fri:-	'früh'	" + -er-	" + -šd-
uẽnih-	'wenig'	" + -er-	" + -šd-

Class IIa (two-stem adjectives with umlaut)

positive		comparative		superlative	
laŋ-	'lang'	leŋ-	-er-	leŋ-	-šd-
šẽ-	'schön'	šen-	-er-	šen-	-šd-
ioŋ-	'jung'	ieŋ-	-er-	ieŋ-	-šd-
gro:s-	'groß'	gre:s-	-er-	gre:-	-šd-[10]
ho:h-	'hoch'	he:h-	-er-	heh-	-šd-[11]
kurts-	'kurz'	kirts-	-er-	kirts-e-	-šd-[12]

[10] Loss of /s/ before a sibilant.

[11] It seems the long vowel has been shortened before a voiceless consonant cluster.

[12] Svarabhakti vowel.

Class IIb (two stem adjectives with suppletion)

gu:d-	'gut'	bes-	-er-	be-	-šd-
fi:l-	'viel'	mẽ/mẽn-	-er-	mẽ-	-šd-

- The comparative conjunction for adjectives is /ui:/, e.g., des haus iš 'gre:ser ui: sɛl 'dieses Haus ist größer als jenes'.

Adverbs in German modify verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs. They also serve the same function as the English predicative adjective, e.g., di: 'arba:id iš gu:d 'the work is good', and ɛ:r šafd gu:d 'he works well'. Whereas purely adjectival functions are always accompanied by adjectival endings in the standard language, e.g., die gute Arbeit, in BG the same is true, except for nominative and accusative feminine singular after the definite article, e.g., di: gu:d 'arba:id (see table in 3.1).

BG adverbs are uninflected as in Standard German. In the comparative the ending /-er/ is used, in the superlative the preposition am and the ending /-šda/. Example: dɛ:r 'ku:ha iš ned no 'šener dego'ri:rd, ɛ:r šmegd a: am 'bešda 'der Kuchen ist nicht nur schöner dekoriert, er schmeckt auch am besten'.

Comparison of adverbs:

positive		comparative	superlative
šẽ	'schön'	šener	am šenšda
fri:	'früh'	fri:er	am fri:šda
gɛrn	'gern'	gɛrner or li:-ber	am gɛrnšda or am libšda
bald	'bald'	ẽnder or belder	am ẽšda
e:b	'ehe'	" "	"

4.0 Verbs

BG verbs are inflected for person (first, second, and third) and number (singular and plural) and exhibit categories of time reference (present, past, and

future), mood (indicative, subjunctive, and imperative), voice (active and passive), and aspect (general and progressive.

4.1 Verb Classes

Traditionally, German verbs have been divided into two groups: strong and weak. Broadly speaking, weak verbs are those with one stem throughout the conjugation; strong verbs have more than one stem. This characteristic feature can be observed in BG verbs, too, although the members of each class do not coincide with Standard German, e.g., uiss, guisd 'wissen, gewußt', denga, dend 'denken, gedacht', kena, kend 'kennen, gekannt'. Because BG lacks the simple past tense, it is simpler to introduce a new classification of verbs. Class I will have the same stem for present tense and past participle. This will include mainly weak verbs and certain traditionally strong verbs. Class II will have one stem for the present tense and another for the past participle. This class will consist mostly of strong verbs. Each class can be broken down further into those with a past participle suffix /-d/, and those with a past participle suffix /-a/. Thus we have:

Class I: verbs with one stem only:
(a) past participle suffix /-d/
(b) " " " /-a/

Class II: verbs with more than one stem:
(a) past participle suffix /-d/
(b) " " " /-a/

Examples for each category (given in the infinitive and the past participle):

Ia (verbs with past participle suffix /-d/)

infinitive			past participle		
uis-	a	'wissen'	g- uis-		d
le:g-	a	'legen'	g- le:g-		d
šbi:l-	a	'spielen'	g- šbi:l-		d

ka:f-	a	'kaufen'	ka:f-	d[13]
deŋg-	a	'denken'	deg-	d[14]
bid-	a	'bitten'	bid[15]	

Ib (verbs with past participle suffix /-a/)

infinitive			past participle	
fa:r-	a	'fahren'	g- fa:r-	a
šla:g-	a	'schlagen'	g- sla:g-	a
bah-	a	'backen'	bah-	a
ha:is-	a	'heißen'	g- ha:is-	a
kom-	a	'kommen'	kom-	a
dra:g-	a	'tragen'	dra:g-	a

IIa (vowel-alternating verbs with past participle /-d/)

infinitive			past participle	
breŋ-	a	'bringen'	broh-	d
han		'haben'	g- he-	d

IIb (vowel-alternating verbs with past participle /-a/)

infinitive			past participle	
šnaid-	a	'schneiden'	g- šnid-	a
bi:g-	a	'biegen'	bo:g-	a
bend-	a	'binden'	bond-	a
hɛlf-	a	'helfen'	g- holf-	a
lig-	a	'liegen'	g- lɛ:g-	a
sits-	a	'sitzen'	g- ses-	a

---

[13]Stems starting with a stop often do not have the past participle prefix /g-/.

[14]Historical linguistics lists this under verbs with "Rückumlaut", but BG does not show this phenomenon with the exception of <u>breŋa, brohd</u> 'bringen, gebracht', see IIa.

[15]The past participle suffix /-d/ assimilates to the stem final dental stop.

4.2 Functional Categories of the Verb

4.21 Person and Number

To indicate person and number BG uses bound morphemes suffixed to the verb as follows:

singular: 1. -ø
2. -š̆
3. -d or -ø for stems ending in a dental stop and for sõi 'sein' in the imperfect,

plural: 1., 2., 3. } -ad or -n for certain exceptional verbs which we classify as 'n-plurals'.

The group of n-plurals are: uɐrə, pl. uẽn 'werden', lasə, pl. lẽn 'lassen', dõ, pl. dẽn 'tun', ge:, pl. gẽn 'gehen', sẽ, pl. sẽn 'sehen', gɛ:, pl. gẽn 'geben', šde:, pl. šdẽn 'stehen', han, pl. hen 'haben', and sõi, pl. sen 'sein'.

In contrast to the standard language, the same vowel is used throughout the conjugation for the stem to which these bound morphemes are added.

Examples:

(regular conjugation) (-ø for third singular)

i:	fa:r	'ich fahre'	i:	šnaid	'ich schneide'
du:	fa:rš̆	'du fährst'	du:	šnaidš̆	'du schneidest'
ɛ:r	fa:rd	'er fährt'	ɛ:r	šnaid	'er schneidet'
mi:r, i:r, si:	fa:rad	'wir fahren', 'ihr fahrt', 'sie fahren'	mi:r, i:r, si:	šnaidad	'wir schneiden', 'ihr schneidet', 'sie schneiden'.

(n-plural)

i:	ge:	'ich gehe'
du:	ge:š̆	'du gehst'
ɛ:r	ge:d	'er geht'

mi:r, i:r, si: gẽn 'wir, sie gehen, ihr geht'.

There is, however, a small subclass of verbs which distinguishes singular and plural in the present not only by suffixes, but also by a different stem vowel or by suppletion. These verbs are 'tun, geben, sehen, lassen, and wissen' besides the auxiliaries and modals, all of which we shall classify as 'vowel-alternating plurals'.

Examples:

1. tense auxiliaries: 1st sg. han , pl. hen 'haben'
   1st sg. ben , pl. sen 'sein'
   1st sg. uɑr , pl. uēn 'werden'
2. modal auxiliaries:
   1st sg. mus , pl. mesd 'müssen'
   1st sg. kan , pl. kend 'können'
   1st sg. uil , pl. uelad 'wollen'
   1st sg. sol , pl. seld 'sollen'
   1st sg. mɔ:g , pl. mēgad 'mögen'
3. other verbs:
   1st sg. du:(r), pl. dēn 'tun'
   1st sg. gib , pl. gēn 'geben'
   1st sg. si: , pl. sēn 'sehen'
   1st sg. us:is, pl. uisad 'wissen'
   1st sg. las , pl. lēn 'lassen'.

4.22 Time Reference

BG verbs are capable of expressing present, past, and future time. There are two tenses each in past and future, and two aspects in the present. Present I uses bound morphemes, so does the verb sōi 'sein' in the past. All other time references are compound, i.e. verb phrases are used. The following examples are given in the indicative mood because it exemplifies the paradigms best.

A. Present time

Present I[16]: (stem + suffix of person and number)

i:	seŋ	'ich singe'
du:	seŋ- ś	
ɛ:r	seŋ- d	
mi:r	seŋ- ad	

Present II: (declined present I form of auxiliary dõ̆ 'tun' + infinitive[17])

i:	du:(r)	seŋ- a	'ich singe'
du:	du:(r)-ś	"	
ɛ:r	du:(r)-d	"	
mi:r	dẽn	"	

For verbs whose stem ends in a sibilant like uśa 'waschen', draśa 'dreschen', or ɛaa 'essen', present II is more commonly used for the second person singular because for present I the suffix is a sibilant also and assimilates here to the stem final sound. This form coincides with the imperative and to avoid confusion present II is preferred.

Examples:

present I:	du: uśš 'du wäschst' (this form is avoided)
imperative sg.:	uśś 'wasche'
present II:	du: du:(r)ś uśa 'du wäschst' (this form is preferred).

B. Past time

There is only one verb with a simple paradigm for the past in BG: the auxiliary sõi 'sein'.

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[16] For the difference in meaning between present I and II see section 4.25 on aspect.

[17] Although English also has the 'tun' + infinitive construction and Canadian-born informants showed great influence from that language, they avoided present II (see Chapter VI, section A 3.22).

Example:

i: ua:r 'ich war' mi:r ua:rad 'wir waren'
du: ua:rš
ɛ:r uar

Otherwise past time references are formed with the help of the auxiliary verbs 'haben' and 'sein'.

Past I: (declined present I of auxiliary + past participle)

(a) for verbs using 'haben'

i: han g- šlɔ:f- a 'ich habe geschlafen'
du: haš "
ɛ:r had "
mi:r hen "

(b) for verbs using 'sein'

i: ben g- šuom- a 'ich bin geschwommen'
du: biš "
ɛ:r iš "
mi:r sen[18] "

Past II: (declined present I form of auxiliary + past participle + past participle of auxiliary)

(a) for verbs using 'haben'

i: han g-šlɔ:f- a g- hed 'ich hatte geschlafen'
du: haš " "
ɛ:r had " "
mi:r hen[18] " "

The expression hen ... ghed represents the Standard German 'hatte' as well as 'hatte ... gehabt'.

(b) for verbs using 'sein'

i: ben g- šuom- a g- uɛ: 'ich war geschwommen'
du: biš " "
ɛ:r iš " "
mi:r sen " "

---

[18] If mi:r 'wir' follows the auxiliary, the /n/ of the verb assimilates to a bilabial nasal, e.g., sen/hen mi:r > semer/ hemer 'sind wir/ haben wir'.

There is an alternative past II tense for verbs using 'sein': (simple past form of auxiliary + past participle)

i:	ua:r	g- šuom- a		'ich war geschwommen'
du:	ua:rš	"		
ɛ:r	ua:r	"		
mi:r	ua:rad	"		

The difference in meaning between past I and II is that past II expresses an event in the more remote past just as the past perfect tense does in Standard German.

C. Future time

Future I: (declined present I form of auxiliary verb 'werden' + infinitive)

i:	uɛr	šlɔ:f- a	'ich werde schlafen'
du:	uɛrš	"	
ɛ:r	uɛrd	"	
mi:r	uẽn	"	

Future II: (declined present I form of auxiliary 'werden' + past participle + infinitive of 'haben' or 'sein')

(a) for verbs using 'haben'

i:	uɛr	g- šlɔ:f- a	han	'ich werde geschlafen	
du:	uɛrš	"	"		haben'
ɛ:r	uɛrd	"	"		
mi:r	uẽn	"	"		

(b) for verbs using 'sein'

i:	uɛr	g- šuom- a	sõi	'ich werde geschwommen	
du:	uɛrš	"	"		sein'
ɛ:r	uɛrd	"	"		
mi:r	uẽn	"	"		

As in Standard German future perfect, BG future II indicates an action which is going to end at or before a certain time in the future. It can also express a like-

lihood, probability, supposition, or assumptions referring to past time.

Examples:

'morga uɛr i: den bri:f 'gšri:ba han 'morgen werde ich den Brief geschrieben haben'

'gešderd uɛrd ɛ:r fe'laihd den bri:f 'gšri:ba han 'gestern wird er vielleicht den Brief geschrieben haben'

si: uɛrd uol rehd ghed han 'sie wird wohl recht gehabt haben'.

4.23 Mood

There are three moods in BG: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. In the indicative, factual statements are made; the subjunctive expresses doubt and non-reality and is hence used in hypothetical conditions and indirect speech. It is also common in polite address and for expressing wishes. In the imperative, commands are given.

Tense distinctions are at maximum in the indicative. In the subjunctive only one distinction is made: past and non-past. Non-past subjunctive is normally a compound verb, formed with the help of the verb dõ 'tun'. Only tense and modal auxiliaries, and brauha 'brauchen' have a simple non-past subjunctive.

Non-past subjunctive[19]: (subjunctive form of the verb 'tun' + infinitive)

i:	dɛ:d	šuem- a 'ich würde schwimmen' or
du:	dɛ:dš	" 'ich schwömme'
ɛ:r	dɛ:d	"
mi:r	dɛ:dad	"

[19] A simple tense for the past as well as the non-past subjunctive such as G. Hahn describes for the dialect of Lichtental could not be found in BG. (Cf. G. Hahn, "Die Mundart von Lichtental, Kreis Akkerman, Bessarabien" (diss., Tübingen, 1929), p. 96).

The non-past subjunctive for the tense and modal auxiliary verbs, and 'brauchen' is as follows:

i:/ɛ:r	brihd	'bräuchte'	du:	brihdš	mi:r brihdad
"	hed	'hätte'	"	hedš	" hedad
"	sai	'sei'	"	saiš	" saiad
"	uɛ:r	'wäre'	"	u :rš	" u :rad
"	ued/ueld[20]	'wollte'	"	uedš/ueldš	" uedad/ueldad
"	sod/sed/seld	'sollte'	"	sodš/sedš/ seldš	" sodad/sedad/ seldad
"	kend	'könnte'	"	kendš	" kendad
"	mesd	'müßte'	"	meśdš	" mesdad
"	dirfd	'dürfte'	"	dirfdš	" dirfdad
"	mehd	'möchte'	"	mehdš	" mehdad

Past subjunctive: (subjunctive form of either 'haben' or 'sein' + past participle)

(a) for verbs using 'haben'

i: hed g- šlɔ:f- a 'ich hätte geschlafen'
du: hedš "
ɛ:r hed "
mi:r hedad "

(b) for verbs using 'sein'

i: uɛ:r g- šuom- a 'ich wäre geschwommen'
du: uɛ:rš "
ɛ:r uɛ:r "
mi:r uɛ:rad "

Examples:

hed ɛ:r den bõm gsẽ, nɔ: uɛ:r ɛ:r ned druf nuf 'gfa:ra
'hätte er den Baum gesehen, dann wäre er nicht darauf gefahren'

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[20] Uela 'wollen' and sola 'sollen' have different forms for the non-past subjunctive which are given after the slanted lines and alternate freely with the main form. In the forms ued and sod/ sed the /l/ has assimilated to the dental stop.

si: dɛ:d fi:l 'beser 'lɛrna, uen se 'gšlɔ:fa hed 'sie würde fiel besser lernen, wenn sie geschlafen hätte', ɛs si:d aus, ui: uen ɛ:r niks 'uisa dɛ:d 'es sieht aus, als ob er nichts wüßte (or ... wissen würde)', dɛ:dad i:r mi:r des 'tsa:iga 'würden Sie mir das zeigen', si: sa:gd, si: sai ned dord guɛ: 'sie sagt, sie sei nicht dort gewesen'.

Imperative

There are only two imperative forms: singular and plural. Singular takes the singular stem without an ending, the plural is identical with the plural indicative. Examples:

sg. šlɔ:f 'schlafe', pl. šlɔ:fad 'schlaft, schlafen Sie'
sg. hɛlf 'hilf' , pl. hɛlfad 'helft, helfen Sie'
sg. gib 'gib' , pl. gẽn 'gebt, geben Sie'.

4.24 Voice

Passive

BG passive is not essentially different from the standard language. However, the non-past passive subjunctive is formed with the help of the verb 'tun', i.e. dõ 'tun' + past participle + uɛra 'werden'.

Examples:

s dɛ:d gmɔ:ld 'uɛra 'es würde gemalt werden'
ẽm iš fi:l 'gholfa 'uora 'ihm wurde viel geholfen'
iets uɛrd nõ noh gšafd 'jetzt wird nur noch gearbeitet'.

Often lẽn 'lassen' expresses a passive state, e.g., des lasd sih 'maha 'das läßt sich machen'.

4.25 Aspect

In order to understand the difference between present I and present II the concept of aspect might be

appropriate. In general, they are both very close in meaning. However, present I may carry a habitual or future connotation, while present II expresses a process going on in the present. Therefore present II can be said to have a progressive aspect.
Examples:

present I: i: uɛš mi:r 'ie:den da:g 'ich wasche mich jeden Tag'

present II: i: du: (gra:d) an bri:f 'šraiba 'ich schreibe (gerade) einen Brief'.

5.0 Double Negative

For emphasis BG employs the double negative, e.g., des han i: 'ni:mɔ:ls ned dend 'das habe ich (wirklich) nicht gedacht', des iš kõin šbas ned 'das ist kein Spaß', ɛ:r ua:r niks ned uɛ:rd 'er war nichts wert'.

6.0 Word Order

The word order in BG and in the standard language is the same, except for subordinate clauses with the double infinitive, where BG may place the inflected verb before or after the double infinitive, e.g., i: gla:b, das mer des hed 'maha 'kena or ... 'maha 'kena hed 'ich glaube, daß man das hätte machen können'. Also BG dative relative pronouns replacing a Standard German genitive uses the word order of a main clause in contrast to the standard language, e.g., dɔ: sen 'kender, 'dene 'i:re 'mider hen kõi fer'šdendnis 'hier sind Kinder, deren Mütter kein Verständnis haben'. All other subordinate clauses use inverted word order as in Standard German, e.g., di: 'audo, uo: 'kõine 'dɛher hen 'die Autos, die keine Dächer haben'.

The word order in questions is the same as in Standard German, but there are no wo-compounds in BG, for example, mid ua:s kan des 'ausbeserd 'uɛra 'womit kann das ausgebessert werden'.

CHAPTER IV
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN AND BESSARABIAN GERMAN

The following chapter attempts to show correspondences between the sounds of Middle High German and those of BG. The purpose of this comparison is to look at BG from a historical perspective rather than in isolation. Furthermore, certain differences from the standard language can only be explained by looking at BG's history. Standard German final -e, for example, is present in certain nouns, such as 'kelde 'Kälte', 'kihe 'Küche', but lost in others like šdŏi 'Steine', mais 'Mäuse'. A look at BG's historical development will shed light on this seemingly irregular correspondence.

A difficulty we must face is that Middle High German is the name for the largely normalized language of the medieval court which shunned localized dialect features. This language has been handed down to us from 12th to 15th century Germany in a group of manuscripts. The manuscripts have been analyzed and a normalized Middle High German has been constructed. Middle High German grammars and dictionaries now use this normalized form. The object of this chapter, then, is to compare one exclusively spoken language, i.e. BG with a mostly written normalized court language, whose spoken form is known to us only indirectly.

It is evident, then, that Middle High German is not the parent language of BG; however, normalized Middle High German is a good representative of the Alemannic - Swabian dialect area of the Middle Ages and BG is based partly on dialects from that area. Hence it is reasonable to think of the two in their historical relationship, though to insist on it in all instances would be unwise.

Features of BG which cannot be explained by cor-

responding features in Middle High German often are clarified by taking Old High German into consideration. The question arises: Why not use Old High German as a starting point? It is common knowledge, however, that Old High German, too, consisted of three main dialects, i.e. Alemannic, Bavarian, and Franconian. Manuscripts surviving from this period are scarce and largely follow the scribal practice associated with some particular monastery or group of monasteries, which again tended towards standardization of the dialects used in a given area. A more restricted vocabulary and less information available from Old High German sources in general make the comparison more difficult.

In this chapter, then, Middle High German will be used as a starting point in the comparison with BG. Where it fails Old High German will be considered. We will content ourselves to show correspondences between the two and not developments. For the relationship Middle High German - BG the symbol ":" will be used rather than ">" since it is inaccurate to say, one developed from the other. Middle High German sounds are given in the normalized Middle High German notation to distinguish them from BG. For the sake of completeness, we shall give the correspondences to all Middle High German sounds, although some are the same for BG and for Standard German.

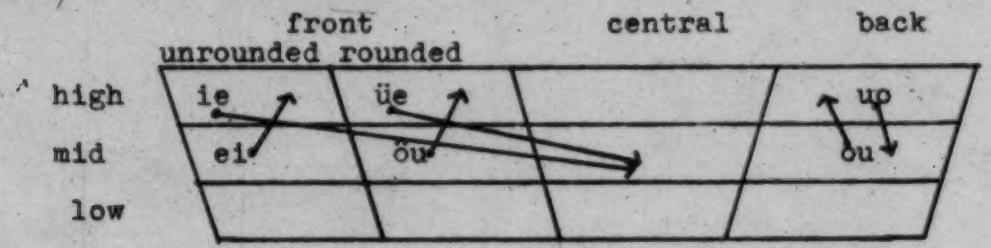
1.0 Correspondences of Vowels and Diphthongs in Stressed Syllables

The following vowel system has been established for Middle High German:

	front unrounded	front rounded	central	back
high	i î	ü iu [ü:]		u û
mid	e ê, é æ [ɛ:]	ö oe [ö:]		o ô
low	ä		a â	

Middle High German short vowels are /i, ę, ė, a, o, u/ and /ä, ö, ü/ (umlaut of /a, o, u), and Middle High German long vowels /î, ê, â, ô, û/ and /iu [ü:] , oe, æ/ (umlaut of /û, ô, â/); they are given in the normalised Middle High German notation. Generally no distinction is made in the manuscripts between MHG /ę, ė, and ä/, usually /e/ is written for all three. From a study of rhymes in the classical Middle High German poets and from their different development in modern dialects a distinction between them may be made. MHG /ę/ is a closed, /ė/ an open mid front vowel, and /ä/ a very open low front sound; /ü/ is distinct from /i/, and /ö/ from /e/ through lip rounding. The articulation of the rest of the vowels may be deduced from the chart above. The Middle High German vowel symbols represent phonemes and will be considered as such.

Middle High German diphthongs are /ie, ei, öu, ou, uo, üe/, and their phonetic realization may be inferred from the diagram below.



In the following, individual correspondences between Middle High German and BG vowels and diphthongs will be shown. Because of their similarities, high and upper-mid vowels and down-gliding and up-gliding diphthongs will be grouped together. They are arranged here according to the phonetic position of each sound in the vowel triangle in groups of long and short vowels and diphthongs. Thus the following sounds are considered together:

î - iu - û	i - ü - u	ie - üe - uo
ê - oe - ô	ę - ö - o	ei - öu - ou .

The rest ɔ̂ ê â ä, a have to be dealt with separately. General deductions from this will be made in section 1.4, in the summary of diachronic changes since Middle High German. Since the author is a speaker of BG, some examples given in this chapter have been provided by herself, their pronunciation agrees, however, with that of the BG-speaking informants.

1.1 Middle High German Long Vowels

MHG /î - iu - û/

MHG /î - iu [ü:] - û/ correspond to BG /ai - ai - au/, respectively, and the BG /ɔ̃i - ɔ̃i - ã/ before nasals. Thus all Middle High German high long monophthongs correspond to BG diphthongs with the Middle High German front long vowels falling together in BG /ai/. Before nasals, however, only the front vowels correspond to a diphthong, the back vowel is monophthongized.

In summary:

MHG /î - iu [ü:] - û/ : BG a. /ai - ai - au/
b. nasalized /ɔ̃i - ɔ̃i - ã /.

Examples:

MHG /î/

a. /î/ : /ai/

sîte : said 'Seite', drî : drai 'drei', îs : ais 'Eis', lîden : laida 'leiden', zît : tsaid 'Zeit', arzenî : artsnai 'Arznei', bîhte : baihd 'Beichte', zwîfel : tsuaifel 'Zweifel'.

b. /î/ : /ɔ̃i/

sîn : sɔ̃in 'sein', rîn : rɔ̃i 'rein', swîn : šuɔ̃i 'Schwein', wîn : uɔ̃i 'Wein', fîn : fɔ̃i 'fein'.

Exceptions:

MHG /î/ was kept in schîr : ši:r 'schier' and vrîthof : fri:dho:f 'Friedhof'. The long vowel was shortened to /i/ in dîhte : dihd 'dicht', and guît : guid

'quitt'.[1] For the conditions for shortening see 1.4, § 3.

MHG /iu/

a. /iu [ü:]/ : /ai/

huiser (<OHG hûsir) : haiser 'Häuser', iuter (<OHG ûtir) : aider 'Euter', iule (<OHG ûli) : ail 'Eule', miuse (<OHG mûsi) : mais 'Mäuse', viuhte (<OHG fûhti) : faihd 'feucht'. spriu (<OHG spriu) : šbrai 'Spreu', triuwe (<OHG gitriuwi) : drai 'treu', tiutsch (<OHG diutisc) : daitš 'deutsch', tiure (<OHG tiuri) : daier 'teuer', schiur (<OHG sciura) : šaier 'Scheune', ungehiure (<OHG ungahiuri) : õgehaier 'Ungeheuer'.

b. /iu/ : /õi/

schiumen (<OHG scûm-) : šõima 'schäumen', ziunen (<OHG zûnen) : tsõina 'zäunen', versiumen (<OHG virsûmen) : fersõima 'versäumen', briune (<OHG brûni) : (hals-)brõine 'Diphtherie', niun (<OHG niun) : nõi 'neun', vriunt (<OHG friunt) : frõind 'Freund', ziune (<OHG ziuna) : tsõi 'Zäune', verliumden (<OHG virliumden) : ferlõimda 'verleumden'.

MHG /û/

a. /û/ : /au/

mûs : maus 'Maus', brûchen : brauha 'brauchen', mûr : mauer 'Mauer', bûr : bauer 'Bauer', hût : haud 'Haut', hûs : haus 'Haus', sûber : sauber 'sauber', tûsent : dausad 'tausend', brût : braud 'Braut'.

b. /û/ : /ã/

zûn : tsã 'Zaun', dûme : dãma 'Daumen', pflûme : pflãm 'Pflaume', brûn : brã 'braun'.

Exception:

The long vowel was shortened to /u/ in ûf : uf 'auf'.

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[1] Gerhard Eis believes it to be a borrowing from Low German. (Cf. Gerhard Eis, Historische Laut- und Formenlehre des Mittelhochdeutschen (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1950), p. 68).

MHG /ê - oe - ô/

The Middle High German upper-mid long monophthongs /ê - oe - ô/ correspond to upper-mid long monophthongs in BG, too, which are nasalized to /ẽ - œ̃ - õ/ before nasals. In environments where shortening occurs MHG /oe - ô/ correspond to BG /e - o/. Before consonant clusters (for /o/ they have to contain /r/) both MHG /ê/ and /ô/ are lowered; however, the lowered BG [ɔ] is only an allophone. Without a clear phonetic reason MHG /ê/ corresponds to BG /ɛ:/ also. Semantically, however, most words containing /ɛ:/ are connected with the Church[2], e.g., MHG sêle : BG sɛ:l 'Seele', MHG bekêren : BG bekɛ:ra 'bekehren', but MHG êre : BG e:r 'Ehre', or MHG snê : BG šne: 'Schnee'.

In summary the correspondences may be demohstrated as follows:

MHG /ê - oe - ô/ : BG a. /ɛ: - e: - o:/

b. shortened /no examples - e - o/

c. lowered and shortened /ɛ - no examples -[ɔ]/

d. nasalized /ẽ - œ̃ - õ/

e. in Church vocabulary /ɛ: - no examples - no examples/

Examples:

MHG /ê/

a. /ê/ : /e:/

snê : šne: 'Schnee', êre : e:r 'Ehre', wê : ue: 'weh',

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[2]P. Wiesinger speaks of "Durchkreuzung lautgesetzlicher Entwicklung ... aus Vermengung verschiedener Lautungen unterschiedlicher Sprachschichten." BG, however, does not show a clear cut division and has some words of Church vocabulary with a regular development, e.g., êwic : e:uih 'ewig'. (Cf. Peter Wiesinger, Phonetisch-phonologische Untersuchungen zur Vokalentwicklung in den deutschen Dialekten (2 vols.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970), I, 9).

êwic : e:uih 'ewig', êrest : e:rəd 'erst', zêder : tse:der 'Zeder', êr : e:er 'eher', rêgel : re:gel 'Regel', wên : ue:a 'wehen', slêhe : šle: 'Schlehe', zêhe : tse: 'Zehe'.

b. /ê/ : / / (no examples)

c. /ê/ : /ɛ/ (before consonant clusters)

prêzel : brɛtsel 'Bretzel', lêrche : lɛrh 'Lerche', hêrre : hɛr 'Herr', gêrtrûd : gɛrdru:d 'Gertrud', hêrschen : hɛrša 'herrschen'.

d. /ê/ : /ẽ/

wênic : uẽnih 'wenig', mê : mẽ[3]/mẽner 'mehr', gên : gẽn 'geht (imperative)'.

e. /ê/ : /ɛ:/

lêren : lɛ:ra 'lehren', sêle : sɛ:l 'Seele', bekêren : bekɛ:ra 'bekehren', mêren : fermɛ:ra 'vermehren'.

MHG /oe [ö:] /

a. /oe/ : /e:/

oede : e:de 'Öde', boese : be:s 'böse', hoeren : he:ra 'hören', groezer : gre:ser 'größer', roesten : re:šda 'rösten'.

b. /oe/ : /e/ (before consonant clusters and n + er)

hoehest : hehšd 'höchst', schoener : šener 'schöner',

c. /oe/ : / / (no examples)

d. /oe/ : /ẽ/

hoenen : hẽna 'höhnen', schoene : šẽ 'schön'.

e. /oe/ : / / (no examples)

MHG /ô/

a. /ô/ : /o:/

hôch : ho:h 'hoch', rôse : ro:s 'Rose', brôt : bro:d 'Brot', vrô : fro: 'froh', ôsteren : o:šdra 'Ostern', tôt : do:d 'tot', rô : ro: 'roh', lôs : lo:s 'los', lôrbêr : lo:rbe:r 'Lorbeer', klôster : glo:šder 'Kloster', trôst : dro:šd 'Trost', stôzen : šdo:sa 'stoßen'.

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[3] Preceding nasals sometimes nasalize the vowel, see section 1.4, § 12.

b. /ô/ : /o/, and c. /ô/ : [ɔ] before /r/ and /ht/
genôʒ : genos 'Genosse', hôrechen : horha 'horchen', hôchzît : hohtsih 'Hochzeit', ôsten : oŝda 'Osten', schôn : šo 'schon', slôʒ : šlos 'Schloß', hôchvart : hofard 'Hoffart', rôst : roŝd 'Rost',
d. /ô/ : /õ/
lôn : lõ 'Lohn', bône : bõn 'Bohne', hôn : hõn 'Hohn', schônen : šõna 'schonen'.
e. /ô/ : / / (no examples)

MHG /œ [ɛ:]/

MHG /œ/ corresponds to BG /ɛ:/ or /ɛ/, and /ẽ/ before nasals.
MHG /œ/ : BG a. /ɛ:/
b. shortened /ɛ/
c. nasalized /ẽ/

Examples:
a. /œ/ : /ɛ:/
nœhe : nɛ:e 'Nähe', swœre : šuɛ:r 'schwer', vœlen : fɛ:la 'fehlen', lœre : lɛ:r 'leer', drœhen : drɛ:a 'drehen', kœse : kɛ:s 'Käse', bewœren : beuɛ:ra 'bewähren', mœʒec : mɛ:sih 'mäßig', spœte : šbɛ:d 'spät', hœlinc : hɛ:lega 'heimlich'.
b. /œ/ : /ɛ/ (before consonant clusters)
drœhseler : drɛksler 'Drechsler'.
c /œ/ : /ẽ/
bequœme : beguẽm 'bequem', genœme : ãgnẽm 'angenehm', spœne : šbẽ 'Späne'.

MHG /â/

MHG /â/ corresponds usually to BG /ɔ:/, and before nasals to /õ/ or /o/. A group of words show /o:/ for MHG /â/. There are, however, also examples with long /a:/ or short /a/ and nasalized /ã/. This variety of correspondences for MHG /â/ must be the result of the dialect mixture between Swabian and East Franconian (see Chapter V)

and/or an influence of the written language. In Swabian /ɔ:/ occurs for MHG /â/ and in the western East Franconian region /o:/.[4] The /a:/ in words like grâve : gra:f 'Graf', spitâl : šbida:l 'Spital', salât : salɔ:d/sala:d 'Salat' suggests Standard German.

MHG /â/ : BG a.		/ɔ:/
		/o:/
	b. shortened and rounded	/o/
	c. nasalized	/õ/
	d. sometimes	/a:/
	e. shortened	/a/
	f. nasalized	/ã/

Examples:

a. /â/ : /ɔ:/

vrâgen : frɔ:ga 'fragen', kâter : kɔ:der 'Kater', jâmer : iɔ:mer 'Jammer', drât : drɔ:d 'Draht', blâtere : blɔ:der 'Blase', wâge : uɔ:g 'Waage', sât : sɔ:d 'Saat', blâ : blɔ: 'blau', grâ : grɔ: 'grau', lâw : lɔ: 'lau', tâht : dɔ:hd 'Docht', pfâl : pfɔ:l 'Pfahl'.

/â/ : /o:/

slât : šlo:d 'Schlot', wâc : uo:g 'Woge', wâgen : uo:ga 'wogen', tâhele : do:l 'Dohle'.

b. /â/ : /o/

brâmber : brombe:r 'Brombeere', gebrâht : brohd 'gebracht', nâchgebûr : nohber 'Nachbar', âmeize : oma:is 'Ameise'.

c. /â/ : /õ/

mâne : mõn 'Mond', âne : õne 'ohne', mânôt : mõnad 'Monat', tâhe : tõn 'Ton, Lehm', sâme : sõma 'Samen', mâhe : mõn 'Mohn', arcwân : arguõn 'Argwohn', âmaht : õmahd 'Ohnmacht', getân : dõ 'getan'.

d. /â/ : /a:/

tât : da:d 'Tat', lâden : la:da 'einladen', grâve : gra:f

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[4] Karl Bohnenberger, Die Mundarten Württembergs (Stuttgart: Silberburg, 1928), pp. 12 and 67.

'Graf', gâbe : ga:b 'Gabe', spitâl : šbida:l 'Spital', salât : salɔ:d/ sala:d 'Salat'.

e. /â/ : /a/ (for conditions see 1.4, § 3)

lâzen : lasa 'lassen', hât : had 'hat', hân : han 'haben', wâfen : uafa 'Waffen', âhte : ahd 'Acht', krâpfen : grapfa 'Krapfen', klâfter : glafder 'Klafter', versmâhten : fersmahda 'verschmachten', verdâht : ferdahd 'Verdacht', râche : rah 'Rache', schâch : šah 'Schach', nâter : nader 'Natter'.

f. /â/ : /ã/

krâm : grãm 'Kram', spân : šbã 'Span'.

Exceptions:

For /â + w/ one would expect /a:u/,[5] but we get the short diphthong /au/, e.g., pfâwe : pfau 'Pfau', glâwe : glau 'Klaue'. However, for /â + w/ + ending BG has /ɔ:/, e.g., blâwer : blɔ:er 'blauer', grâwer : grɔ:er 'grauer', lâwes : lɔ:es 'laues'.

1.2 Middle High German Short Vowels

Middle High German short vowels were lengthened in certain environments; for the conditions for lengthening see 1.4, § 3 of this chapter.

MHG /i - ü - u/

The Middle High German short vowels /i - ü - u/ correspond to BG high short vowels, too, with /i - ü/ corresponding to the same, namely the unrounded high front vowel. In environments where lengthening occurs MHG /i - ü - u/ correspond to BG long high vowels. Before nasals /ẽ - ẽ - õ/ or /e - e - o/ occur. In summary:

MHG /i - ü - u/ : BG	a.	/i - i - u/
	b. lengthened	/i:- i:- u:/
	c. nasalized	/ẽ - ẽ - õ/
	d. lowered before nasals	/e - e - o/

[5] See 1.3 of this chapter, under MHG /ou/.

Examples:

MHG /i/

a. /i/ : /i/

visch : fiš 'Fisch', sichel : sihel 'Sichel', wider : uider 'wieder', gift : gifd 'Gift', milch : milih 'Milch', hirz : hirš 'Hirsch', wirt : uird 'Wirt', rihten : rihda 'richten'.

b. /i/ : /i:/

vihe : fi:h 'Vieh', vil : fi:l 'viel', siben : si:ba 'sieben', gibel : gi:bel 'Giebel', spil : šbi:l 'Spiel', sip : si:b 'Sieb', igel : i:gel 'Igel', gir : gi:r 'Gier', dir, mir, ir : di:r, mi:r, i:r 'dir, mir, ihr'.

c. /i/ : /ẽ/

im(be) : ẽm 'Biene', kinne : kẽ 'Kinn', hin : hẽ 'hin'.

d. /i/ : /e/

vinster : fenšder 'finster', vinden : fenda 'finden', vinger : feŋer 'Finger', kint : kend 'Kind', wint : uend 'Wind', himel : hemel 'Himmel', nime : nem '(ich) nehme'.

MHG /ü/

a. /ü/ : /i/

tühtic : dihdih 'tüchtig', müller : miler 'Müller', knüttel : gnidel 'Knüttel', schüzzel : šisel 'Schüssel', vürste : firšd 'Fürst', küssen : kise 'Kissen', würklich : uirglih 'wirklich', hübisch : hipš 'hübsch', sprützen : šbritsa 'spritzen'.

b. /ü/ : /i:/

lügenære : li:gner 'Lügner', kübel : ki:bel 'Kübel', mühle : mi:le 'Mühle', türe : di:re 'Tür', zügel : tsi:gel 'Zügel'.

c. /ü/ : /ẽ/

künec : kẽnih 'König', büne : bẽne 'Bühne', mügen : mẽga 'mögen', süne : sẽ 'Söhne'.

d. /ü/ : /e/

dünne : den 'dünn', kümftic : femfdih 'künftig', künstlich : kenšdlih 'künstlich', künnen : kena 'können', sünde : send

'Sünde', günnen : gena 'gönnen', münich : menh 'Mönch', künste : kenšd 'Künste'.

MHG /u/

a. /u/ : /u/

wurm : uurm 'Wurm', stube : šdub 'Stube', buter : buder 'Butter', klucke : glug 'Glucke', kruste : grušd 'Kruste', luft : lufd 'Luft', schurz : šurts 'Schürze', busch : buš 'Busch', schuz : šus 'Schuß', gedultec : geduldih 'geduldig',

b. /u/ : /u:/

spur : šbu:r 'Spur', luc : lu:ge 'Lüge'.

c. /u/ : /õ/ (lengthened and before nasals)

unkrut : õgraud 'Unkraut', unruo : õru: 'Unruhe', sun : sõ 'Sohn'.

d. /u/ : /o/ (before nasals)

wunt : uond 'wund', stumpf : šdomf 'stumpf', brunne : brona 'Brunnen', krump : grom 'krumm', uns : ons 'uns', under : onder 'unter', sumer : somer 'Sommer', lunge : lon 'Lunge', vrum : from 'fromm', geswummen : gšuoma 'geschwommen', und : on 'und'.

MHG /ę - ö - o/

The Middle High German upper-mid, short vowels correspond to BG vowels of the same position with the exception that no rounded front vowels occur in BG. In environments where lenthening occurs BG has the long, upper-mid vowels /e: - e: - o:/, and before nasals /ẽ - ẽ - õ/ are found. Preceding /r/ (for MHG /ę/ also preceding /ft, s/) the correspondences to the MHG vowels /ę - ö - o/ are the lower-mid short vowels /ɛ - ɛ - [ɔ]/ in BG, where [ɔ] is an allophone of /o/. In summary:

MHG /ę - ö - o/ : BG	a.	/e - e - o/
	b. preceding /r/	/ɛ - ɛ - [ɔ]/
	c. lengthened	/e:- e:- o:/
	d. nasalized	/ẽ - ẽ - õ/

Examples:

MHG /ę/

a. /ę/ : /e/

ęcke : eg 'Ecke', ęzzich : esih 'Essig', bętte : bed 'Bett', dęnken : dęnga 'denken', gesęlle : gsel 'Geselle', gęste : gęšd 'Gäste', kęzzel : kesel 'Kessel', brennen : brena 'brennen', kennen : kena 'kennen'.

b. /ę/ : /ɛ/

ęrmel : ɛrmel 'Ärmel', hęrbest : hɛrbšd 'Herbst', kręftic : grɛfdih 'kräftig', węsch : uɛš 'Wäsche', węspe : uɛšb 'Wespe'.

c. /ę/ : /e:/

ęgede : e:g 'Egge', ęher : e:r 'Ähre'.

d. /ę/ : /ẽ/

sęnen : sẽna 'sehnen'.

MHG /ö/

a. /ö/ : /e/

töhterlin : dehderle 'Töchterlein', göttinne : gede 'Göttin', sölre : seler 'Söller', hölzelîn : heltsle 'Hölzchen', röckelîn : regle 'Röcklein', öhselîn : eksle 'Öchslein'.

b. /ö/ : /ɛ/

nörz : nɛrts 'Nerz', hörner : hɛrner 'Hörner', örtelîn : ɛrdle 'Örtchen', dörfer : dɛrfer 'Dörfer'.

c. /ö/ : /e:/

öle : e:l 'Öl', gröber : gre:ber 'gröber', höl : he:l 'Höhle'.

d. /ö/ : /ẽ/

gewönlich : guẽnlih 'gewöhnlich', gewönen : guẽna 'gewöhnen', lönelîn : lẽnle 'Löhnchen'.

MHG /o/

a. /o/ : /o/ and b. /o/ : [ɔ] preceding /r/

offen : ofa 'offen', oder : oder 'oder', obez : obšd 'Obst', vol : fol 'voll', wolf : uolf 'Wolf', wolke : uolg 'Wolke', krot(te) : grod 'Kröte', korn : korn 'Korn',

korp : korb 'Korb', frosch : froš 'Frosch', doner : doner 'Donner', komen : koma 'kommen', woche : uoh 'Woche'.

c. /o/ : /o:/

vogel : fo:gel 'Vogel', sole : so:l 'Sohle', hof : ho:f 'Hof', hobel : ho:bel 'Hobel', bodem : bo:da 'Boden', oven : o:fa 'Ofen'.

d. /o/ : /õ/

honec : hõnih 'Honig', wonen : uõna 'wohnen', gewonheit : guõnha:id 'Gewohnheit'.

MHG /ë/ and /ä/

Both MHG /ë/ and /ä/ correspond to BG /ɛ/ and /ɛ:/ when lengthened. Before nasals /e/ and /ẽ/ occur. In summary:

MHG /ë - ä/ : BG	a.	/ɛ/
	b. lengthened	/ɛ:/
	c. short before nasals	/e/
	d. nasalized and lengthened	/ẽ/

Examples:

MHG /ë/

a. /ë/ : /ɛ/

bërc : bɛrg 'Berg', wëter : uɛder 'Wetter', lërnen : lɛrna 'lernen', wërc : uɛrg 'Werk', krëbez : grɛps 'Krebs', wërlt : uɛld 'Welt', fël : fɛl 'Fell', drëc : drɛg 'Dreck', schërbe : šɛrba 'Scherben', zëlt : tsɛld 'Zelt', hëlm : hɛlm 'Helm', knëht : gnɛhd 'Knecht', nëve : nɛfe 'Neffe'.

b. /ë/ : /ɛ:/

bër : bɛ:r 'Bär', wëc : uɛ:g 'Weg', sëgen : šɛ:ga 'Segen', hër : hɛ:r 'her', lëder : lɛ:der 'Leder', wër : uɛ:r 'wer', nëbel : nɛ:bel 'Nebel', lëber : lɛ:ber 'Leber', këver : kɛ:fer 'Käfer', gël : gɛ:l 'gelb', mël : mɛ:l 'Mehl', dër : dɛ:r 'der', lëben : lɛ:ba 'leben', gëben : gɛ: 'geben', wërt : uɛrd 'Wert', hërt : hɛ:rd 'Herd', vërs : fɛ:rš 'Vers'.

c. /ë/ : /e/

vënster : fenšder 'Fenster', dën : den 'den', dëme : dem

'dem', nėmen : nema 'nehmen'.

d. /ė/ : /ẽ/

zėmen : tsẽma 'zähmen', gėnen : gẽna 'gähnen', wėme : uẽm 'wem'.

Exception:

pfėrsich : pfirsih 'Pfirsich'.

MHG /ä/

a. /ä/ : /ɛ/

mägede : mɛgd 'Mägde', mähtec : mɛhdih 'mächtig', ärker : ɛrger 'Erker', äcker : ɛger 'Äcker', arweiz / erbeiz : ɛrps 'Erbse'.

b. /ä/ : /ɛ:/ (for lengthening see 1.4, § 3)

pfärit : pfɛ:rd 'Pferd', bärte : bɛ:rd 'Bärte'.

c. /ä/ : /e/

schäntliche : šendlih 'schändlich'.

d. /ä/ : /ẽ/

nämelich : nẽmlih 'nämlich', schämel : šẽmel 'Schemel', nägel : nẽgel[6] 'Nägel',

MHG /a/

MHG /a/ corresponds to BG /a/ or /a:/, and /ã/ before nasals. In summary:

MHG /a/ : BG a. /a/
b. lengthened /a:/
c. lengthened and nasalized /ã/

Examples:

a. /a/ : /a/

dahs : daks 'Dachs', angest : anšd 'Angst', hals : hals 'Hals', hant : hand 'Hand', schaffen : šafa 'schaffen', vater : fader 'Vater', lachen : laha 'lachen', lant : land 'Land', hamer : hamer 'Hammer', schate : šada 'Schatten', aber : aber 'aber', spanne : šban 'Spanne'.

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[6] Nasalization by a preceding nasal, see 1.4, § 12.

b. /a/ : /a:/ (for lengthening see 1.4, § 3)
schade : ša:da 'Schaden', laden : la:da 'laden', varn : fa:ra 'fahren', tragen : dra:ga 'tragen', sage : sa:g 'Sage', stap : šda:b 'Stab', art : a:rd 'Art', sal : sa:l 'Saal'.
c. /a/ : /ã/
van : fã 'Fahne', man : mã 'Mann', lam : lãm 'lahm', zan : tsã 'Zahn'.

1.3 Middle High German Diphthongs

The down-gliding Middle High German diphthongs /ie - üe - uo/, all starting at a high position, correspond to the BG high monophthongs /i: - i: - u:/ or /i - i - u/. Before nasals /ẽ - ẽ - õ/ or /e - e - o/ occur.
In summary:

MHG /ie - üe - uo/ : BG a. /i: - i: - u:/
b. shortened /i - i - u /
c. nasalized /ẽ - ẽ - õ /
d. lowered before nasals and shortened /e - e - o /.

Examples:
MHG /ie/
a. /ie/ : /i:/
vier : fi:r 'vier', liet : li:d 'Lied', liep : li:b 'lieb', diep : di:b 'Dieb', knie : gni: 'Knie', ziehen : tsi:ga 'ziehen', schief : ši:f 'schief', riechen : ri:ha 'riechen', fliegen : fli:ga 'fliegen', brief : bri:f 'Brief', priester : bri:šder 'Priester'.
b. /ie/ : /i/
licht : lihd 'Licht', vierte : firde 'vierte', niergent : nirgens 'nirgens', vierzig : firtsih 'vierzig', viertel : firdel 'Viertel', vierzehen : firtse 'vierzehn', viehte : fihde 'Fichte'.
c. /ie/ : /ẽ/
dienen : dẽna 'dienen', rieme : rẽma 'Riemen', strieme : šdrẽma 'Strieme', nieman : nẽmerd 'niemand'.

d. /ie/ : /e/
dienest : denšd 'Dienst', dienstac : denšds:g 'Dienstag'.

MHG /üe/
a. /üe/ : /i:/
küele : ki:l 'kühl', rüezel : ri:sel 'Rüssel', müeder : mider 'Mütter', güete : gi:de 'Güte', brüeder : bri:der 'Brüder', müede : mi:d 'müde', rüebe : ri:b 'Rübe', vrüe: fri: 'früh'.
b. /üe/ : /i/
müeter : mider 'Mütter', nüehtern : nihdern 'nüchtern', füetern : fidra 'füttern', vrüestücke : friždig 'Frühstück'.
c. /üe/ : /ẽ/
grüene : grẽ 'grün', hüener : hẽner 'Hühner', blüemelin : blẽmle 'Blümlein'.
d. /üe/ : /e/
müezen : mesa[7] 'müssen'.

MHG /uo/
a. /uo/ : /u:/
schuoch : šu: 'Schuh', suochen : su:ha 'suchen', ruowe : ru: 'Ruhe', muot : mu:d 'Mut', buoch : bu:h 'Buch', bruoder : bru:der 'Bruder', kruoc : gru:g 'Krug', guot : gu:d 'gut'.
b. /uo/ : /u/ (shortened before voiceless consonants)
muoter : muder 'Mutter', muoz : mus 'muß'.
c. /uo/ : /õ/
bluome : blõm 'Blume', huon : hõ 'Huhn', tuon : dõ 'tun'.
d. /uo/ : /o/
(kristen-) tuom : (grisda-) dom 'Christentum', kuont : kond 'kund'.

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[7]Lowered by a preceding nasal, see 1.4, § 12.

MHG /ei - öu - ou/

The Middle High German up-gliding diphthongs /ei - öu - ou/ correspond to the BG up-gliding diphthongs /a:i - a:i - a:u/, respectively, except that the pattern is broken by the presence of /a:/ as the BG correspondence in most cases for MHG /ou/. Before nasals only one diphthong is retained, we find /õi - ẽ - õ/. It is noteworthy that the rounded Middle High German diphthong /öu/ corresponds to a BG nasalized monophthong, i.e. /ẽ/. This fact will be used as evidence for the relative chronology of nasalization and unrounding (see p.).

In summary:

MHG /ei - öu - ou/ : BG a. /a:i - a:i - a:u or a: /

b. nasalized /õi - ẽ - õ/

Examples:

MHG /ei/

a. /ei/ : /a:i/

keiser : ka:iser 'Kaiser', seite : sa:id 'Saite', seife : sa:ife 'Seife', kleit : gla:id 'Kleid', ei : a:i 'Ei', breit : bra:id 'breit', vleisch : fla:iš 'Fleisch', geiz : ga:is 'Geiß', heizen : ha:isa 'heißen', weise : ua:is 'Waise', meist : ma:išd 'meist'.

b. /ei/ : /õi/ (before nasals)

kleine : glõi 'klein', bein : bõi 'Bein', einvalt : õifald 'Einfalt', stein : šdõi 'Stein', heim : hõim 'heim', eimer : õimer 'Eimer', leime : lõima 'Lehm', aleine : alõi 'allein', meinen : mõina 'meinen', einzeht : õitsahd 'einzeln'.

MHG /öu/

a. /öu/ : /a:i/

vröude : fra:id 'Freude', höu : ha:i 'Heu', ströuwen : šdra:ia 'streuen', röuber : ra:iber 'Räuber', öugelîn : a:igle 'Äuglein'.

Exception:

söugen : saiga 'säugen'.

b. /öu/ : /ẽ/ (before nasals)
tröumen : drẽma 'träumen', söume : sẽm 'Säume', böume : bẽm 'Bäume', zöumen : tsẽma 'zäumen'.

MHG /ou/
a. /ou/ : /a:/
loup : la:b 'Laub', rouch : ra:h 'Rauch', ouge : a:g 'Auge', glouben : gla:ba 'Glauben', koufen : ka:fa 'kaufen', stoup : šda:b 'Staub', houbet : ha:pd 'Haupt', toup : da:b 'taub', tougen : da:ga 'taugen'.
/ou + w/ : /a:u/[8]
touwe : ta:u 'Tau', genouwe : gna:u 'genau', touwen : ta:ua 'tauen', houwen : ha:ua 'hauen', vrouwe : fra:u/ fra: 'Frau', ougest/ ouwest : a:uguš̊d 'August (given name)', beschouwen : bša:ua 'beschauen'.
b. /ou/ : /õ/ (before nasals)
boum : bõm 'Baum', zoum : tsõm 'Zaum', troum : drõm 'Traum', stroum/ strôm : šdrõm 'Strom'.
Exception:
goume : gãma 'Gaumen'.

1.4 Summary of Vocalic Changes since Middle High German

Assuming the historical link between Middle High German and BG to be justified, the following general observations can be made from the correspondences above.

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[8]Since the dialect of the mother colony Lichtental, Bessarabia changes any intervocalic /b/ to w it is understandable that Hahn's list of the diphthong /a:u/ is much longer. However, in Lichtental /a:u/ corresponds regularly to MHG /ou/ and not just preceding /w/. The trend, then, in younger settlements is towards monophthongization which is especially evident in the double form fra:u / fra: 'Frau' for MHG vrouwe. (Cf. Gottlieb Hahn, "Die Mundart von Lichtental, Kreis Akkerman, Bessarabien" (diss., Tübingen, 1929), p. 61).

§ 1 Phonemic coalescence of MHG /ę́/ and /ä/ to BG /ɛ/ or /ɛ:/ and to /e/ or /ẽ/ before nasals.

Examples:

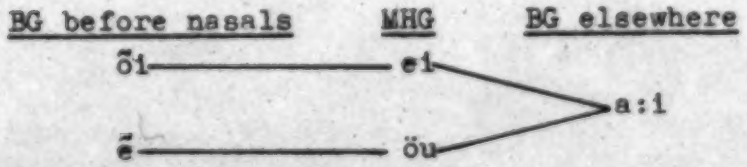
/ę́, ä/ : /ɛ/ or /ɛ:/ (for lengthening see 1.4, § 3)

bę́ten	: bɛda 'beten',	mähtic	: mɛhdih 'mächtig',
slę́ht	: ślɛhd 'schlecht',	bälle	: bɛl 'Bälle',
ę́zzen	: ɛsa 'essen',	äcker	: ɛger 'Äcker',
hę́lfen	: hɛlfa 'helfen',	ärmeclich	: ɛrmlih 'ärmlich',
wę́rlt	: uɛld 'Welt',	häzlich	: hɛslih 'häßlich',
lę́ben	: lɛ:ba 'leben',	gläser	: glɛ:ser 'Gläser',
vę́der	: fɛ:der 'Feder',	jäger	: iɛ:ger 'Jäger'.

/ę̀, ä/ : /e/ or /ẽ/

nę̀men	: nema 'nehmen',	wę̀me	: uẽm 'wem',
		nämelich	: nẽmlih 'nämlich'.

§ 2 Unrounding of front rounded vowels. The newly formed unrounded vowels coalesced with older unrounded ones, thus MHG /ü/ and /i/, /iu [ü:]/ and /i/, /ö/ and /ę̀/, /oe [ö:]/ and /ę̂/, /üe/ and /ie/, /öu/ and /ei/ fell together. Before nasals, however, MHG /öu/ is monophthongized in BG while its unrounded counterpart /ei/ is not. The development may be summarized in the following chart:



Examples:

eimer	: õimer 'Eimer',	ei	: a:i 'Ei',
böume	: bẽm 'Bäume',	höu	: ha:i 'Heu'.

Examples for the unrounding of front rounded vowels:

/ü, i/ : /i/

müller	: miler 'Müller'	visch	: fiš 'Fisch',
knüt(t)el	: gnidel 'Knüttel',	milch	: milih 'Milch',

vürste : firšd 'Fürst', gift : gifd 'Gift'.

/iu, î/ : /ai/

hiuser : haiser 'Häuser', zît : tsaid 'Zeit',
iule : ail 'Eule', rîten : raida 'reiten',
miuse : mais 'Mäuse', glîch : glai 'gleich'

/ö, ę/ : /e/

löckelin : legle 'Löckchen', bętte : bed 'Bett',
göter : geder 'Götter', gęste : gešd 'Gäste'.

/oe, ê/ : /e:/

oede : e:de 'Öde', snê : šne: 'Schnee',
boese : be:s 'böse', wên : ue:a 'wehen',
hoeren : he:ra 'hören', êr : e:er 'eher'.

/üe, ie/ : /i:/

küele : ki:l 'kühl', diep : di:b 'Dieb',
rüeẓel : ri:sel 'Rüssel' brief : bri:f 'Brief',
güete : gi:de 'Güte',
süeẓe : si:s 'süß'.

/öu, ei/ : /a:i/ (but different correspondences before nasals)

vröude : fra:id 'Freude', weise : ua:is 'Waise',
ströuwen : šdra:ia 'streuen', breit : bra:id 'breit'.

§ 3 Lengthening of Middle High German short vowels and shortening of Middle High German long vowels in certain environments

Traditionally, histories of the German language have expressed lengthening in terms of open syllables. Lengthening occurred first in polysyllabic words with open syllables and was then transferred by analogy to closed syllables in monosyllables with the same root, thus [loban] > [lo:ban] 'loben', then [lop] [lo:p] 'Lob'.

This exposition does not quite agree with the examples in BG. In this dialect lengthening occurred in open syllables only if neither a voiceless consonant followed (except s or f) nor -er, often

also -el, -en. Middle High German short vowels correspond to long ones in BG before single voiced consonants and single s or f. However, no lengthening occurred before a single nasal followed by -er, -el, -en.

R. D. King suggests lengthening occurred before a single voiced obstruent. Lengthening was followed by final devoicing.[9] This solution agrees with the BG development also, except that an additional rule is needed to account for the lack of lengthening before single voiced obstruents preceding -er, -en, -el. To suit BG, King's explanation may be expressed in the following manner: Middle High German short vowels correspond to BG long ones in environments before Middle High German single voiced consonants (also s or f), where no -er, -el, -en followed. Final voiced consonants were devoiced and geminates simplified in Middle High German after this process. To discover whether a Middle High German final voiceless consonant has undergone devoicing or simplification, a look at the same root with an ending suffices. In this way the following voiceless obstruent was devoiced, tac (gen. tages) : da:g 'Tag', while drëc (gen. drëckes) : dræg 'Dreck' was not, and fël (gen. fëlles) : fæl 'Fell' simplified, while mël (gen. mëls) : mæ:l 'Mehl' was not.

The reason why Middle High German short vowels were retained before single nasals followed by -er, -el, -en might be because the unstressed vowel of these endings is often lost in rapid speech,

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[9]Robert D. King, Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 52-54.

which then places the root vowel before a consonant cluster rather than a single consonant, e.g., himel [himl̥] : hemel 'Himmel'.

Examples:

a. Lengthening before single voiced consonants:[10]
gibel : gi:bel 'Giebel', gir : gi:r 'Gier', zügel : tsi:gel 'Zügel', öle : e:l 'Öl', lẽder : lɛ:der 'Leder', gẽl : gɛ:l 'gelb', stap (gen. stabes) : šda:b 'Stab', zam : tsã̄m 'zahm', zan : tsã̄ 'Zahn', man : mã̄ 'Mann', van : fã̄ 'Fahne', wẽme : uẽm 'wem'.

Exceptions:

(The following words except stube :šdub 'Stube', ligen : liga 'liegen', frum : from 'fromm', and holen : hola 'holen' are always unstressed in a sentence).
wider : uider 'wieder', oder : oder 'oder', aber : aber 'aber', ligen : liga 'liegen', stube : šdub 'Stube', wol : uol 'wohl', an : an 'an', dẽn : den 'den', bin : ben 'bin', von : fon 'von', in : en 'in', frum : from 'fromm', holen : hola 'holen'.

b. Lengthening before single s or f:

Examples:

lẽsen : lɛ:sa 'lesen', oven : o:fa 'Ofen', hof : ho:f 'Hof', hose : ho:sa 'Hose'.

Exception:

hẹfe/heve : hefa 'Hefe' (the BG suffix /-a/ suggests an earlier -en, where often no lengthening occurs).

c. No lengthening before nasals + -er, -el, -en:

Examples:

zesamen : tsama 'zusammen', komen : koma 'kommen', hamer : hamer 'Hammer', himel : hemel 'Himmel', sumer : somer 'Sommer', doner : doner 'Donner', schi-

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[10] MHG /a,ẹ/ are lengthened occasionally before r + C, e.g., art : a:rd 'Art', bart : ba:rd 'Bart', vẽrs : fɛ:rs 'Vers', wẽrt : uɛ:rd 'Wert', hẽrt : hɛ:rd 'Herd'. In torse : do:rsih 'Kohlstrunk' /o/ + r + C was lengthened.

mel : šemel 'Schimmel', kamer : kamer 'Kammer', günnen : gena 'gönnen', künen : kena 'können', nẽmen : nema 'nehmen', schamen : šema 'schämen'.
Exceptions:
zẽma : tsẽma 'ziemen', gẽnen : gẽna 'gähnen', schämel : šẽmel 'Schemel', wonen : uõna 'wohnen'.

MHG long vowels and diphthongs were shortened

a. preceding consonant clusters of which often the second phoneme was voiceless, e.g., wînzer : uenser 'Winzer', klâfter : glafder 'Klafter', âhte : ahd 'Acht', krâpfen : grapfa 'Krapfen', versmâhten : fersmahda 'verschmachten', dîhte : dihd 'dicht', lêrche : lærh 'Lerche', hêrre : hær 'Herr', hêrschen : hærša 'herrschen', hoehest : hehšd 'höchst', drœhseler : drœksler 'Drechsler', hôrchen : horha 'horchen', hôchvart : hofard 'Hoffart', ôsten : oša 'Osten', viehte : fihde 'Fichte', lieht : lihd 'Licht', vierte : firde 'vierte', nüehtern : nihdern 'nüchtern', früestücke : frišdig 'Frühstück', rôst : rošd 'Rost'.
Exceptions:
klôster ' glo:šder 'Kloster', trôst : dro:šd 'Trost', roesten : re:šda 'rösten', priester : bri:šder 'Priester', ôsteren : o:šdra 'Ostern', tâht : dɔ:hd 'Docht'.

b. Sometimes preceding MHG /ʒ/[11] or /ch/, e.g.,

lâʒen	: lasa 'lassen',	schœchære	: šæher 'Schächer',
genôʒe	: genos 'Genosse',	schâch	: šah 'Schach',
muoʒ	: mus 'muß',	nâchgebûr	: nohber 'Nachbar'[12],
		hôchzît	: hohtsih 'Hochzeit'[12].

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[11] MHG /ʒ/ is a voiceless alveolar sibilant in contrast ot MHG /s/, which is phonetically close to [š].

[12] The reason for shortening here might be consonant clusters.

Exceptions:

strâȝe	: šdrɔ:s 'Straße',	nâch	: nɔ:h 'nach',
rüeȝel	: ri:sel 'Rüssel',	buoch	: bu:h 'Buch',
stôȝen	: šdo:sa 'stoßen',	sprache	: šbrɔ:h 'Sprache',
grüeȝen	: gri:sa 'grüßen',		
süeȝe	: si:s 'süß'.		

c. Sometimes preceding single voiceless consonants followed by -en, -er, e.g.,
wâfen : uafa 'Waffen', nâter : nader 'Natter', müeter : mider 'Mütter', muoter : muder 'Mutter', vüetern : fidra 'füttern', fuoter : fuder 'Futter'.
But not in:
kâter : kɔ:der 'Kater', râten : rɔ:da 'raten', slâfen : šlɔ:fa 'schlafen', strâfen : šdrɔ:fa 'strafen'.
Schoener : šener 'schöner', brüelen : brila 'brüllen', and iemer : emer 'immer' are shortened, too, with a single voiced consonant followed by -en, -er.

Shortening in monosyllables before single consonants occurred in hân : han 'habe', quît : guid 'quitt', schôn : šo 'schon', and ûf : uf 'auf'.

§ 4 In contrast to the standard language BG retained the distinction between MHG /î/ and /ei/, and /û/ and /ou/, since they underwent these separate changes:

MHG /î/ : BG /ai/ MHG /û/ : BG /au/
MHG /ei/ : BG /a:i/ MHG ou/ : BG /a:u/ or /a:/.

Examples:

sîte	: said 'Seite',	seite	: sa:id 'Saite',
lîp	: laib 'Leib',	leip	: la:ib 'Laib',
hût	: haud 'Haut',	stoup	: šda:b 'Staub',
sûber	: sauber 'sauber',	glouben	: gla:ba 'glauben',
		genouwe	: gna:u 'genau'.

§ 5 Before nasals the following changes in vowel quality occurred:

MHG /i, ü, e̊, ö, ä/ : BG /e/
MHG /u/ : BG /o/.

This development took place without exception while the standard language realizes the change u + nasal > o̲ only occasionally, e.g., sumer : somer 'Sommer', vrum : from 'fromm', but brune : brona 'Brunnen', and wunt : uond 'wund'.

Examples:
vinster : fenšder 'finster', dünne : den 'dünn', vënster : fenšder 'Fenster', tönnelin : tenle 'Tönnchen', schäntliche : šendlih 'schändlich', nunne : non 'Nonne', sun : sõ 'Sohn', hunt : hond 'Hund', geswummen : gšuoma 'geschwommen'.

§ 6 Nasalization of vowels or diphthongs occurred before final MHG /n/ and in /un-, an-/ prefixes with the loss of the nasal and compensatory langthening:

MHG /-an#, an-/ : BG /ã/
MHG /-en#/ : BG /ẽ/
MHG /-on#/ : BG /õ/
MHG /un-/ : BG /ẽ/
MHG /ain#/ : BG /õi/.

Examples:
van : fã 'Fahne', man : mã 'Mann', sun : sõ 'Sohn', huon : hõ 'Huhn', tuon : dõ 'tun', grüene : grẽ 'grün', lôn : lõ 'Lohn', schoene : šẽ 'schön', hin : hẽ 'hin', kamin : kamẽ 'Kamin', unêrlîch : õe:rlih 'unehrlich', anzünden : ãtsenda 'anzünden', ungeværlîche : õgfɛ:r 'ungefähr', unkrût : õgraud 'Unkraut'.

§ 7 Monophthongization of four Middle High German diphthongs, i.e.

MHG /ie, üe/ : BG /i:/
MHG /uo/ : BG /u:/
MHG /ou/ : BG /a:/ (but /a:u/ before w̲).

Examples:
brief : bri:f 'Brief', rüegel : ri:sel 'Rüssel', guot : gu:d 'gut', glouben : gla:ba 'glauben', (and touwen : ta:ua 'tauen').

§ 8 Diphthongization of three Middle High German monophthongs, i.e.

MHG /î, iu/ : BG /ai/
MHG /û/ : BG /au/

Examples:
zwîfel : tsuaifel 'Zweifel', miuse : mais 'Mäuse', fiur : faier 'Feuer', hûs : haus 'Haus',

§ 9 In contrast to the standard language the umlaut of /u/ and /o/, i.e. /ü/ and /ö/ did not take place in the following examples:
lucke : lug 'Lücke', mucke : mug 'Mücke', slupfen : šlupfa 'schlüpfen', hupfen : hopfa 'hüpfen', luge : lu:ge 'Lüge', nutzen : nutsa 'nützen', duster : du:-šder 'düster', krot(te) : grod 'Kröte', gunnen : gona 'gönnen', schurz : šurts 'Schürze', rucken : ruga 'rücken', kuche : kuhe/kihe 'Küche', luften : lufda 'lüften',vünfzec : fuftsih 'fünfzig', vünfzehen : fuftse 'fünfzehn'.

On the other hand the unrounded umlaut vowel does occur in::
rücke : riga 'Rücken', stücke : šdig 'Stück', brücke : brig 'Brücke', bücken/bucken : biga/ buga 'bücken' (buga has the meaning of 'to fold'), drücken : driga 'drücken'.

BG uses umlaut in these instances as the East Franconian dialect.[13]

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[13] K. Bohnenberger, Die Mundarten Württembergs, p. 66, see also Chapter V, section 3.0, a. 4.

§ 10 MHG /a/ corresponds to BG /ɛ/ in the following examples:
a. preceding /š/:
asche : ɛša 'Asche', waschen/weschen : uɛša 'waschen', (occasionally also vlaschen : flɛša 'Flaschen'[14]),
b. various environments:
alliu/elliu : ɛle 'alle', aller : ɛler 'aller', alles : ɛles 'alles', als : als/ɛls 'manchmal', haller/heller : hɛler 'Heller', tage : dɛ:g 'Tage', nacket/nackic : nɛgih 'nackt', swatzen/swetzen : šuɛtsa schwatzen', (Low German rapsad) : rɛps 'Raps', trappe/treppe : drɛb 'Treppe'.
Before nasals /e/ is found, e.g., handschouch : henših 'Handschuh, Handschuhe'.

§ 11 Rounding of MHG /â/ to /o:/ finally, and to /õ/ or /o/ before nasals, e.g., âne : õne 'ohne', âmaht : õmahd 'Ohnmacht', mân : mõn 'Mond', arcwân : arguõn 'Argwohn', wâ : uo: 'wo', âmeiȝe : oma:is 'Ameise',

§ 12 Occasionally vowels are nasalized, or lowered by preceding nasals, e.g., mê : mẽ 'mehr', müeȝen : mesa 'müssen', nägel : nẽgel 'Nägel', mügen : mẽga 'mögen', nu : no 'nun', (Middle German nur) : nõ 'nur', nase : nãs 'Nase'.

§ 13 The change of vowels and diphthongs from Middle High German to BG occurred in the following chronological order: 1. change of long high vowels and diphthongs (diphthongization of long high vowels, monophthongization of down-gliding diphthongs, and lengthening of up-gliding diphthongs), 2. unrounding of front rounded vowels and nasalization. The historical development in BG may be charted as follows. The

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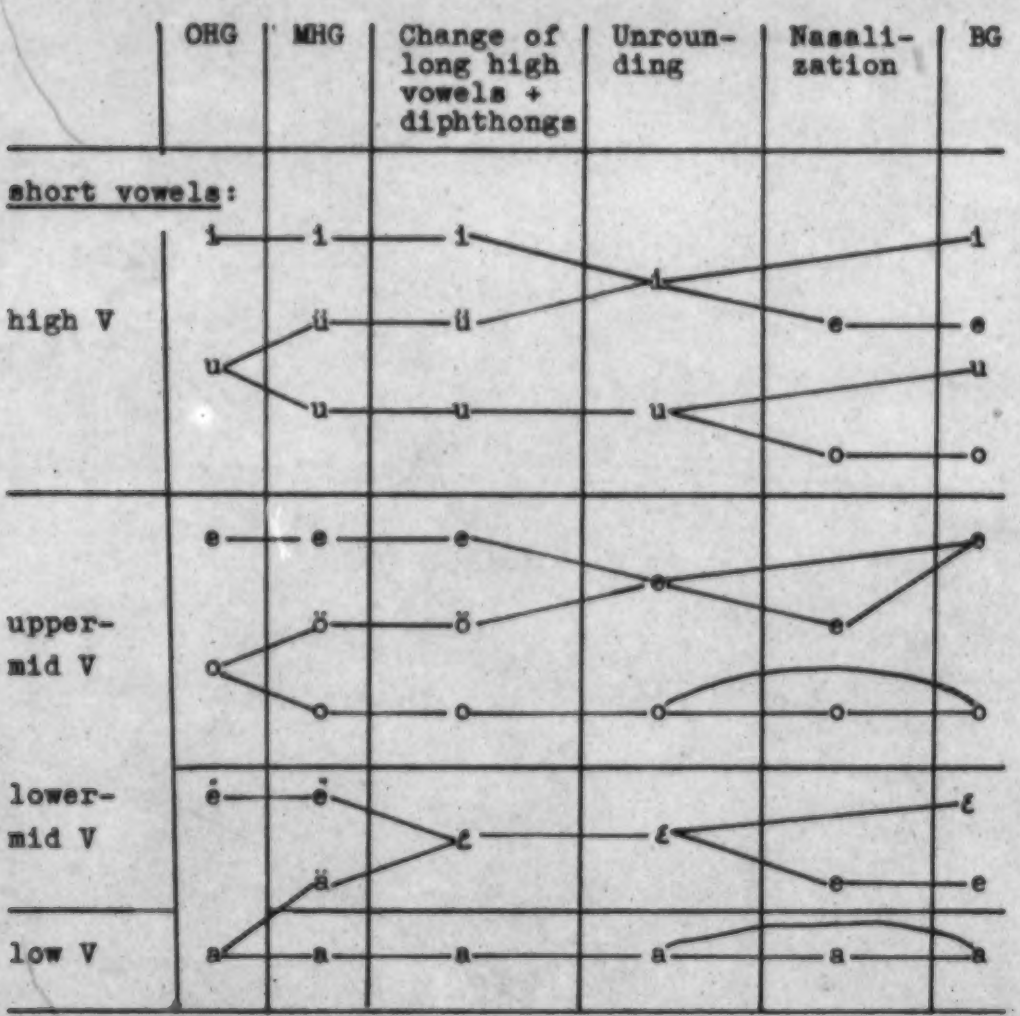
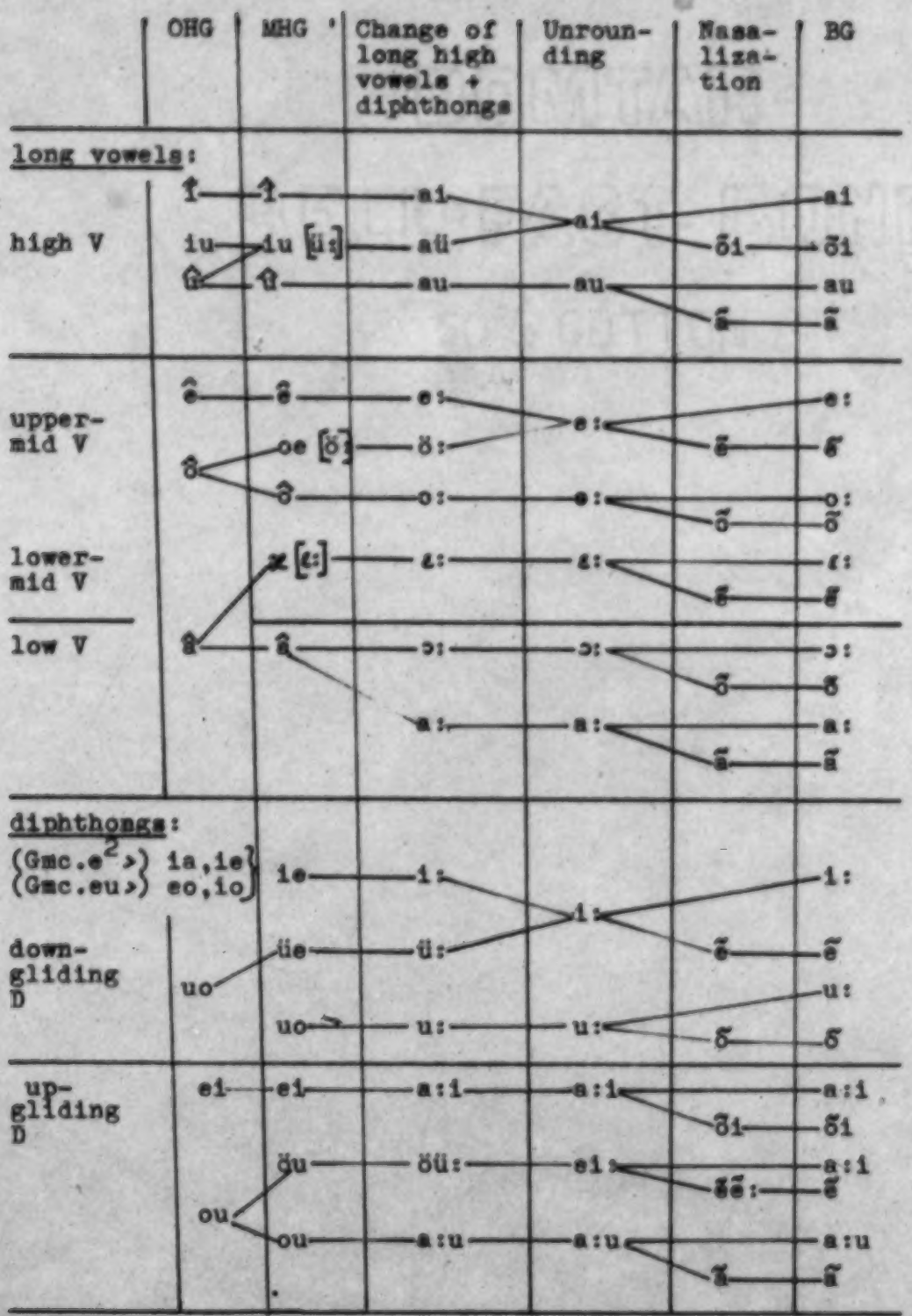
[14] This might be an influence of Low German flesch 'Flasche', since only the informant from Tarutino (Low German majority) used it.

columns are arranged in presumed chronological order. (Environments where short vowels were lengthened and long vowels shortened were not taken into consideration).




OHG
MHG
Change of long high vowels + diphthongs
Unrounding
Nasalization
BG
long vowels:
high V
upper-mid V
lower-mid V
low V
diphthongs:
(Gmc.e2>) ia,ie
(Gmc.eu>) eo,io
down-gliding D
up-gliding D
ai
au
iu
ei
ou
uo
ie
üe
öu
ai
aü
au
e:
ö:
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ãi

Evidence for the above order is furnished by the separate development of MHG /ei/ and /öu/ before nasals. According to the suggested chronology we assume:

MHG	1. lengthening	2. unrounding	3. nasalization	BG
ei	a:i	a:i	ãi	ãi
öu	öü:	ei:	ãĩ	ã

The result agrees with the data.

Had we assumed unrounding to have preceded the lengthening, a coalescence would have taken place and the outcome would have been /ãi/ for both developments.

MHG	1. unrounding	2. lengthening	3. nasalization	BG
ei	ei	a:i	ãi	ãi
öu	ei			

This does not correspond to the facts. We therefore confirm the proposed order.

Coalescence would have occurred also if nasalization had preceded lengthening:

MHG	1. nasalization	2. lengthening	3. unrounding	BG
ei	ẽẽ	ẽẽ:	ẽẽ:	ẽ
öu	õõ	õõ:	ẽẽ:	

A wrong outcome for BG is again obtained, which once more confirms the order originally proposed.

The question, however, whether unrounding preceded nasalization or vice versa cannot be answered in this way. Either order avoids coalescence of MHG /ei/ and /öu/ before nasals, which is correct. Light could probably be shed on the matter by examining documents of earlier centuries, but this topic will be left to further research.

2.0 Correspondences of Vowels and Diphthongs in Unstressed Syllables

2.1 Suffix Vowels

§ 1 Middle High German final /e/ has been lost in BG except where it had developed from Old High German long î.

Examples:

hirte : hird 'Hirte', kæse : kɛ:s 'Käse', bętte : bed 'Bett', nase : nãs 'Nase', erkantnisse : erkendnis 'Erkenntnis', manunge : mãnoŋ 'Mahnung', edele : e :del 'edel', dęme : dem 'dem', sunne : son 'Sonne', schrîbære : šraibɐr 'Schreiber', sünde : send 'Sünde', narwe : narb 'Narbe', gęste : geŝd 'Gäste', briute : braid 'Bräute', fürste : firŝd 'Fürst', zunge : tsoŋ 'Zunge', ime : ẽm 'ihm', (ich) nime : (i:) nem '(ich) nehme', niere : ni:r 'Niere', vihe : fi:h 'Vieh'.

Retention of MHG /e/ in final position:

lęnge (<OHG langî) : leŋe 'Länge', dęcke (<OHG dacchî) : deŋe 'Decke', groeze (<OHG grôzî) : gro:se 'Größe', güete (<OHG guotî) : gi:de 'Güte', hęrte (<OHG hartî) : hɛrde 'Härte', töufe/toufe (<OHG toufî) : da:ife 'Taufe', męnige (<OHG managî) : meŋe 'Menge', węrme (<OHG warmî) : uɛrme 'Wärme', lüge/luge (<OHG lugî) : lu:ge 'Lüge', nęzze (<OHG nazzî) : nɛse 'Nässe', breite (<OHG breitî) : bra:ide 'Breite', müle (<OHG mulî) : mi:le 'Mühle', türe/tür (<OHG turî) : di:re 'Tür', oede (<OHG ôdî) : e:de 'Öde'.

Exceptions: (retention of MHG final /e/, which did not derive from Old High German long î).

seife (<OHG seifa) : sa:ife 'Seife', miete (<OHG miata) : mi:de 'Miete', witewe (<OHG wituwa) : uidue 'Witwe', küche(n) (<OHG chuhhina) : kihe 'Küche'.

§ 2 The Middle High German final /-iu/ and /-in/ and /-inne/ correspond to BG final /-e/. (MHG /-iu [ü:]/ was unrounded to [-i:] , therefore we get the same result as for OHG ī).

Examples:

MHG /-iu/ : BG final /e/

blintiu (kuo) : blende (ku:) 'blinde (Kuh)', guotiu (kint) : gu:de (kender) 'gute (Kinder)', (umbe) vieriu, sehsiu : (om) fi:re, sekse '(um) vier, sechs'.

MHG /-in, -inne/ : BG final /e/

wirtin : uirde 'Wirtin', küneginne : kenihe 'Königin', fürstin : firšde 'Fürstin', kügellīn : ki:gele 'Kügelchen', hiuselīn : haisle 'Häuslein', kindelīn : kendle 'Kindlein', eichin : a:ihe 'eichen'.

§ 3 The MHG /-en, -em/ as either a. preceding final /t/, or b. a final syllable correspond to BG /a/. (Presumably another example of the lowering effect of nasals).

a. MHG /-en/ before /t/ : BG /-a-/

âbent : ɔ:bad 'Abend', tûsent : dausad 'tausend', (sie) machent, nęment : (si:) mahad, nemad '(sie) machen, nehmen'.

Exception:

tugent : du:gend 'Tugend'.

b. MHG /-en, -em/ as final syllable : BG /-a/

bęsem : bɛ:sa 'Besen', vadem : fa:da 'Faden', buosem : bu:sa 'Busen', zungen : tsoŋa 'Zungen', offen : ofa 'offen', vęrsen : fɛršа 'Verse', morgen : morga 'morgen', geriten : grida 'geritten'.

Exceptions:

inen : ẽne 'ihnen', âtem : ɔ:dem 'Atem', küssen /

kussin (<OHG kussi(a) : kise 'Kissen, sg.'.[15]

MHG final /e/ corresponds to BG /a/ in the weak declension, where all cases except the nominative ended in /-en/. From the oblique cases the ending spread to the nominative, e.g., brâte : brɔ:da 'Braten', hopfe : hopfa 'Hopfen', karpfe : karpfa 'Karpfen', goume : gãma 'Gaumen'.

Since the BG plural diminutive ends in /a/, too, one suspects an earlier -en, i.e. *-len. However, it is hardly plausible that the n in the plural diminutive would have developed differently from the one in the singular, where MHG -lîn > lî : BG /-le/.[16] Therefore, the BG plural diminutive /-la/ must have a different source. It can be traced back to an earlier -lach with the loss of the final fricative, just as in ouch : a: 'auch', mich : mi: 'mich', glîch : glai 'gleich'. The diminutive sg. -le, pl. -lach is still used in some Swabian and Bavarian dialects.[17]

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[15]This is a loan from Old French coissin/cussin; here the final sound resembled î rather than -en, thus it corresponds to final /e/ as the other examples of OHG final î. (Cf. Mildred K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman (Manchester: University Press, 1934), p. 169).

[16]Alemannic still has -li as its diminutive. (Hermann Paul, Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1963), p. 85).

[17]See Anton Birlinger, Schwäbisch-Augsburgisches Wörterbuch (München, 1864; reprint Wiesbaden: M. Sändig, 1968), p. 302, also Johann A. Schmeller, Die Mundarten Bayerns grammatisch dargestellt (München, 1821; reprint Wiesbaden: M. Sändig, 1969), § 802. Karl Weinhold gives examples with the -lach diminutive plural from fourteenth to sixteenth century Alemannic, also M. Lexer. (See Karl Weinhold, Alemannische Grammatik (Berlin, 1863; editions Rodopi Amsterdam, 1967), § 263, and Matthias Lexer, Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch (Leipzig: S. Hirzel), I, column 914 and IIII).

§ 4 BG has only /i/ in the suffix corresponding to MHG /-lîch, -lech; -rîch, -rich; -ic, -ec; -isch, -esch/. Examples:
herzeclîche/herzecliche : hartslih 'herzlich', Friedrîch : fri:drih 'Friedrich', mæjic/mæjec : mæ:sih 'mäßig', künec : kẽnih 'König', kindisch/kindesch : kendiš 'kindisch', honec/honic : hõnih 'Honig'.

It is believed that e > i because of the following palatal fricative.[18]

In BG the suffix /-ih/ has spread widely, sometimes being adopted unexpectedly in coumpounds, e.g., hôchzît : hohtsih 'Hochzeit', knobelouch : gno:blih 'Knoblauch', handschuoch : henših 'Handschuh', scheckeht : šægih 'scheckig', dreckiht : drægih 'dreckig', nackic : nægih 'nackt', torse : do:rših 'Kohlstrunk', pfennic : pfenih 'Pfennig', kimih (Lat. cuminum) : kemih 'Kümmel', geswisterde/geswistergît : gšuišdrih 'Geschwister', milch : milih 'Milch', kalch : kalih 'Kalk'.

§ 5 The Middle High German suffixes -isse and -unge retain their vowel in BG (with the loss of final /e/), but /u/ is lowered to /o/ before nasals. MHG -ære corresponds to BG /-er/.
Examples:
manunge : mãnoŋ 'Mahnung', vinsternisse : fenšdernis 'Finsternis', schribære : šraiber 'Schreiber'.

§ 6 Middle High German unstressed medial /-e-/ in polysyllabic words is usually missing in BG, also the /e/ in the suffixes /-et/ and /-est/.

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[18] Philipp Lenz, "Auslautendes -ig, -ich und verwandte Wortausgänge im Deutschen," ZfhdMa, IV (1903), 200, Friedrich Kauffmann, Geschichte der schwäbischen Mundart (Straßburg: K. J. Trübner, 1890), p. 111, and Ludwig Sütterlin, Die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart (Leipzig: R. Voigtländer, 1923), p. 65.

Examples:
witewe : uidue 'Witwe', lobelîche : le:blih 'löblich', wundern : uondra 'wundern', kindelîn : kendle 'Kindlein', hiuselîn : haisle 'Häuschen', zætelen : tsedla 'verzetteln', hoecheste : hehǽde 'höchste', geschaffet : gǽafd 'geschafft', herbest : hærbǽd 'Herbst', suochest : su:hǽ 'suchst', ôsteren : oǽdra 'Ostern', lügenære : li:gner 'Lügner'.
Exceptions: retention of medial unstressed /e/
kügellîn : ki:gele 'kügelchen', zǽdellîn : tsæ:dele 'Zettelchen'.

2.2 Prefix Vowels

§ 1 The vowel of the Middle High German prefix /be-/ is syncopated in BG before /h, s, l/, sometimes also /ǽ/, but retained otherwise.
Examples: (loss of /e/)
behǽlfen : bhælfa 'behelfen', belîben : blaiba 'bleiben', besuochen : bsu:ha 'besuchen', beschouwen : bǽa:ua 'beschauen', besunder : bsonder 'besondere'.

(retention of /e/)
beswæren : beǽuæ:ra 'beschweren', beschaffen : bǽafa/ beǽafa 'beschaffen', benamen : benǽma 'benennen', bequæme : beguǽm 'bequem'.

§ 2 The vowel of the Middle High German prefix /ge-/ is always lost in BG except in a few borrowings from Standard German. Before stops often the whole prefix is missing.[19]

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[19] A. Eckert claims that ge- is always lost before stops; presumably he is referring to verb forms where this is often true, e.g., angeboten : ǽboda 'angeboten'. (See Albert Eckert, Die Mundarten der deutschen Mutterkolonien Bessarabiens und ihre Stammheimat, DDG XL (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1941), pp. 31 and 34).

Examples: (loss of /e/)
gevæze : gfɛ:s 'Gefäß', gestanc : gšdang 'Gestanc', geschütze : gšits 'Geschütz', gesanc : gsaŋ 'Gesang', geriht(e) : grihd 'Gericht', genou : gna:u 'genau', gelenke : gleŋg 'Gelenk', gewizzen : guisa 'Gewissen', genouc : gnoŋg 'genug', gemüete : gmi:d 'Gemüt', geurteilt : gurda:ild 'geurteilt'.

(Loss of the whole syllable)
gebachen : baha 'gebacken', gedrunken : droŋga 'getrunken', geklaget : gla:gd 'geklagt'.

Exceptions: (retention of the prefix)
gebot : gebo:d 'Gebot', gebiz : gebis 'Gebiß', geburt : geburd 'Geburt', geboren : gebo:ra 'geboren', gedæhtnisse : gedɛhdnis 'Gedächtnis', gehalt : gehald 'Gehalt', geheim : gehõim 'geheim', gewæzzere : geuɛser 'Gewässer', gerɛht : gerɛhd 'gerecht'.

2.3 Summary of Differences between Middle High German and BG in Unstressed Syllables

In summary, then, it can be said about the distribution of BG unstressed vowels that they differ from Middle High German in the following ways:

1. High vowels never occur in absolute final position, e.g., MHG blindiu : BG blende 'blinde'.
2. Before r and in prefixes only /e/ is found, e.g., schrîbære/schrîber : šraiber 'Schreiber', biziht : betsihdihoŋ 'Beschuldigung'.
3. The number of vowel contrasts is greatly reduced in unstressed position. The only possible vowels in unstressed syllables in BG are /i, e, a, o/, e.g., handschouch : henših 'Handschuh', kindelîn : kendle 'Kindlein', offen : ofa 'offen', bildunge : bildoŋ 'Bildung'.
4. In contrast to the standard language, Middle High German final /e/ is retained in BG only if developed

from OHG î, otherwise it is lost. BG also has final /e/ corresponding to MHG /-iu, -in, -inne/.

3.0 Correspondences of Middle High German Consonants

Middle High German standardized notation, as far as consonants are concerned, can be considered phonemic only with reservations. It has to be remembered that this orthography reflects final devoicing of voiced phonemes (Auslautsverhärtung) and also final simplification of geminates (Auslautsvereinfachung). Thus p, t, c in final position correspond to either /b, d, g/, /p, t, k/, or to the geminates /pp, tt, kk/ and only a look at the corresponding root with an ending will reveal their relationships, e.g., tac (gen. tages) 'Tag', kranc (verb: krenken) 'krank', drêc (gen. drêckes) 'Dreck'. The dilemma which arises in having to choose between phonemic overlap (drêc /drêkk/ [drɛk] and tac /tag/ [tak]) and phonemes switched according to phonetic environment (tac /tak/ [tak] and tages /tages/ [tagəs]) is resolved infavour of allowing phonemic overlap. (See discussion in Chapter II, 1.0).

MHG /h/ and /ch/ are two distinct phonemes, as the minimal pair lîhen 'leihen', and lîchen 'übereinstimmen' shows, although they contrast only medially. Initially and before /s/ and /t/ only /h/ but finally and after consonants only /ch/ is found, e.g., rêht 'gerade', vuhs 'Fuchs', kirche 'Kirche', buoch 'Buch'.

The sibilants /s, z, sch/ all are separate Middle High German phonemes, e.g., heiser 'heiser', heizen 'heißen', heischen 'forschen, fragen'. Phonetically /z/ was a voiceless alveolar sibilant, and /s/ had a pronunciation "dem sch ähnlich"[20]. MHG /sch/ was [š]. We shall use the Middle High German spelling for phoneme symbols.

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[20] H. Paul, Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik, § 110.

Critical editions of Middle High German authors interchange f and v arbitrarily, usually, however, v is found initially and medially between vowels. Since f and v do not contrast they are both assigned to one phoneme, i.e. /f/.

MHG /w/ was pronounced bilabially from about 1100 on, but became labiodental in the thirteenth century.[21]

The following consonant system, then, may be found in Middle High German.

		labial	alveolar	palatal	velar
stops	vl.	p	t		k
	vd.	b	d		g
fricatives		f	z, s	sch	h, ch
nasals		m	n		(ŋ)
laterals			l		
trills			r		
semivowels		w		j	

The Middle High German affricates /pf and z/ are considered sequences of two consonants here.

Medievalists do not agree whether the velar allophone [ŋ] became phonemic through the loss of medial /g/.[22]

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[21] H. Paul, Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik, § 76.

[22] H. Paul (Mhd Gr., § 94) denies it, whereas H. Penzl consideres MHG [ŋ] a phoneme. (See H. Penzl, Geschichtliche deutsche Lautlehre (München: Max Hueber, 1969), p. 81).

3.1 Individual Consonants (examples are given in the standardized Middle High German notation).

MHG /p/ =

BG /p/ : pillule : pil 'Pille', palme : palm 'Palme', pêterlîn : pe:derleŋ 'Petersilie', pfanne : pfan 'Pfanne', psalm : psalm 'Psalm', tapfer : dapfer 'tapfer', kopf : kopf 'Kopf'.

/b/ : polster : bolšder 'Polster', plate : blad 'Platte', kappen : kaba 'Kappen', lumpe : lomb 'Lumpen'.

MHG /b/ = (written p finally)

BG /b/ : brẹnnen : brena 'brennen', loben : lo:ba 'loben', hẹben : he:ba 'heben', lop (gen. lobes) : lo:b 'Lob', liep (OHG liob) : li:b 'lieb'.

MHG /b/ is missing in :

lẹmber : lemer 'Lämmer', tumbiu : dome 'dumme', umbe : om 'um', buobe : bu: 'Bub'.

MHG /t/ =

BG /t/ : tatze : tats 'Tatze', tou (gen. touwes) : ta:u 'Tau'.

/d/ : tûsent : dausad 'tausend', tougen : da:ga 'taugen', latten : lada 'Latten', bẹten : bɛda 'beten', brôt : bro:d 'Brot', maht : mahd 'Macht'.

MHG /tw-/ corresponds to /tsu-/ in:

twingen : tsueŋa 'zwingen', twerch : tsuɛrhfɛl 'Zwerchfell', twengen : tsuena 'zwängen', twanc : tsuaŋ 'Zwang'.

MHG /d/ = (written t finally)

BG /d/ : drẹschen : drɛša 'dreschen', drî : drai 'drei', vadem : fa:da 'Faden', bruoder : bru:der 'Bruder', lant (gen. landes) : land 'Land', kint (gen. kindes) : kend 'Kind'.

Excrescent /d/ in:

jẹtzo : ietserd 'jetzt', gẹster(n) : gešderd 'gestern'.

MHG /k/ =

BG /k/ : kiule : kail 'Keule', kinne : kẽ 'Kinn', kugel : ku:gel 'Kugel', kurz : kurts 'kurz'.

/g/ : kranc : graŋg 'krank', klappern : glabra 'klappern', haken : hɔ:ga 'Haken', zuker : tsuger 'Zucker', spêc (gen. spêckes) : šbɑg 'Speck', zwêc (gen. zwêckes) : tsuɑg 'Zweck'.

MHG /g/ = (written c finally)

BG /g/ : geiz : ga:is 'Geiß', gėlt : gɑld 'Geld', ziegel : tsi:gel 'Ziegel', hagel : ha:gel 'Hagel', sic (pl. sige) : si:g 'Sieg', kriec (gen. krieges) : gri:g 'Krieg'.

MHG /f/ = (written v initially and intervocalically)

BG /f/ : vriunt : frõind 'Freund', vier : fi:r 'vier', offen : ofa 'offen', oven : o:fa 'Ofen', hëlfen : hɑlfa 'helfen', sënef : semf 'Senf', ûf : uf 'auf'.

MHG /ft/ corresponds to BG /hd/ or /ht/ in the following examples: schaftstival : šɑhdšdi:fel 'Schaftstiefel', vünfzec : fuhtsih/fuftsih 'fünfzig', vünfzehen : fühtse/fuftse 'fünfzehn', (nift) : nihde 'Nichte'. This phenomenon may be an influence of Low German, as nihde 'Nichte' is a loan from Low German, which replaced Old High German nift.

MHG /s/ and /z/ = (both coalesced, see 3.2, § 2 below)

BG /s/ : siben : si:ba 'sieben', suochen : su:ha 'suchen', hase : ha:s 'Hase', gras : gra:s 'Gras', glas : gla:s 'Glas', hûs : haus 'Haus', ėzzen : ɑsa 'essen', wazzer : uaser 'Wasser', hazzen : hasa 'hassen', lôz : lo:s 'Los', gruoz : gru:s 'Gruß'.

MHG /s/ preceding l, m, n, w, r, p, t corresponds to BG /š/, e.g., slam : šlam 'Schlamm', (for full list see 3.2, § 4 below).

MHG /sch/ =

BG /š/ : schulter : šulder 'Schulter', schurz : šurts 'Schürze', schûvel : šaufel 'Schaufel'.

MHG /h, ch/ =

Intervocalic MHG /h/ is missing in BG, therefore the Middle High German contrast /h, ch/ is lost and both phonemes correspond to only one in BG, i.e. /h/. Except in ouch : a: 'auch', glîch : glai 'gleich', mich : mi:/me 'mich', niht : ned 'nicht', and schuoch : šu: 'Schuh', MHG /ch/ has been kept in all positions, but /h/ only initially.

Examples:

MHG /ch/ =

BG /h/ : lachen : laha 'lachen', bachen : baha 'backen', woche : uoh 'Woche', kirche : kirh 'Kirche', suochen : su:ha 'suchen', loch : loh 'Loch', milch : milih 'Milch', hoch : ho:h 'hoch', naht : nahd 'Nacht', flêhten : flɛhda 'flechten', geslähte : gšlɛhd 'Geschlecht'.

MHG /h/ =

BG /h/ : hôrchen : horha 'horchen', himel : hemel 'Himmel', hëlfen : hɛlfa 'helfen'.

Intervocalic MHG /h/ is missing in: sîhen : saia 'seihen', lîhen : laia 'leihen', sêhen : sẽ 'sehen', geschêhen : gšɛ:a 'geschehen', smæhen : šmɛ:a 'schmähen', vliehen : fli:a 'fliehen', zêhe : tse: 'Zehe', slêhe : šle: 'Schlehe', drɛhen : drɛ:a 'drehen', næhe : nɛ:e 'Nähe', tâhele : do:le 'Dohle'.

Exceptions:

By analogy with hoch : ho:h 'hoch', the /h/ in hoehe has been kept, and we get hoehe : he:he 'Höhe'.

MHG /chs/ corresponds to BG /ks/ or /kš/, e.g., dîhsel : daiksel 'Deichsel', wahsen : uaksa 'wachsen', vuhs : fuks 'Fuchs', hoehste : hekšde 'höchste', bühse :

biks 'Büchse'.

MHG /m/ =

BG /m/ : machen : maha 'machen', man : mã̆ 'Mann', komen : koma 'kommen', boum : bõ̆m 'Baum'.

/ø/ : bĕsem : bɛ:sa 'Besen', vadem : fa:da 'Faden'.

MHG /n/ = (preserved initially and between short V + C)

BG /n/ : nęst : nɛšd 'Nest', niuwe : nai 'neu', finden : fenda 'finden', winter : uender 'Winter'.

Final MHG /n/ is missing in BG occasionally but is reflected in the nasalized vowel, e.g., man : mã̆ 'Mann', stein : šdõ̆i 'Stein', hin : hẽ̆ 'hin', huon : hõ̆ 'Huhn', but hôn : hõn 'Hohn'.

MHG /n/ is lost in the suffix /-en/ in BG, but is apparent in the lowered vowel, i.e. /a/, for example: degen : de:ga 'Degen', sieden : si:da 'sieden'.

MHG /n/ preceding palatal stops corresponds to BG /ŋ/ in all positions, e.g., junc : ioŋ 'jung', singen : seŋa 'singen', banc : baŋg 'Bank'.

Svarabhakti /n/ in genouc : genoŋg 'genug'.

MHG /l/ =

BG /l/ : lant : land 'Land', vallen : fala 'fallen', stal : šda:l 'Stahl'.

MHG /r/ =

BG /r/ : rîten : raida 'reiten', varn : fa:ra 'fahren', arc : arg 'arg', sehr', durch : durh 'durch'.

MHG /w/ and /j/ =

MHG /w/ and /j/ correspond to BG /u/, and /i/ or /i:/ syllable initially in prevocalic position, but are missing between vowels.

Examples:

MHG /w/ =

BG /u/ : wint : uend 'Wind'.

/ø/ : streuen : ŝdrœia 'streuen', bouwen : baua 'bauen', rouwe : ru: 'Ruhe', blǣwer : blɔ:er 'blauer'.

/b/ : (after /l/ and /r/)
salwe : salb 'Salbe', garwe : garb 'Garbe', mürwe : mirb 'mürb', farwe : farb 'Farbe', gärwen : gɛrba 'gerben'.

Exception:

MHG /w/ corresponds to BG /m/ in wir : mi:r 'wir'. This correspondence could have started from the inverted word order where the verb ending -en + wir assimilated to -amir, -amer. BG does not have the verb ending -en any more in the plural but -ad instead, in rapid speech, however, one may hear, for example, des maha mi:r for des mahad mi:r 'das machen wir' (/-a/ is the BG correspondence for -en), which would suggest the above development.

MHG /j/ =

BG /i/ or /i:/ : junc : ioŋ (i:oŋ) 'jung'.

/ø/ : sœjen : sɛ:a 'säen', mœjen : mɛ:a 'mähen', nœjen : nɛ:a 'nähen'.

3.2 Summary of Consonantal Changes since Middle High German

From these correspondences the following general observations can be made.

§ 1 The distinction between voiced and voiceless stops has been lost in BG medially between vowels and finally (in Middle High German the distinction had been lost in final position). Initially a distinction is kept, but the BG voiced stops often correspond to Middle High German voiceless ones. The follwoing chart may serve as an illustration.[23]

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[23] See also Chapter II: Descriptive Phonology.

	MHG	BG	MHG	BG
initially	/p/ ⟷ /p/ /b/ ⟷ /b/	pil 'Pille' bõm 'Baum' ba:r 'Paar'	/t/ ⟷ /t/ /d/ ⟷ /d/	ta:u 'Tau' diš 'Tisch' drai 'drei'
intervocalically	/p/, /b/	laba 'Lappen' si:ba 'sieben'	/t/, /d/	bɛda 'beten' bru:der 'Bruder'
finally	/p/, /b/	lo:b 'Lob'	/t/, /d/	land 'Land'

	MHG	BG
initially	/k/ ⟷ /k/ /g/ ⟷ /g/	kopf 'Kopf' knɛht 'Knecht'
intervocalically	/k/, /g/	hɔ:ga 'Haken' tsi:gel 'Ziegel'
finally	/k/, /g/	šbɛg 'Speck' da:g 'Tag'
	/ng/ : /ŋ/	gsaŋ 'Gesang'

Although the distinction of voiced and voiceless stops is absent in BG in medial and final position, its effect is observable in the length of the preceding vowel. Originally short vowels were lengthened before voiced consonants, therefore, BG has long vowels before originally voiced stops. A dialect other than Middle High German has to be considered here because even in Middle High German the voice distinction was lost finally due to Auslautsverhärtung, since we do not assume here that lengthening did spread by analogy.

§ 2 Medially the Middle High German contrast between geminate and single consonants is missing in BG. It is, however, reflected in the distribution of long and short vowels. The Middle High German short vowels correspond to BG short ones before earlier geminates and long ones before earlier single voiced consonants (see 1.4, § 3 of this chapter).
Examples:
pfarrære : pfarer 'Pfarrer', but hęre : he:r 'Heer',
sunne : son 'Sonne', but hane : hãner 'Hahn',
hęlle : hel 'Hölle', but höle : he:l 'Höhle',
hoffen : hofa 'hoffen', but oven : o:fa 'Ofen'.

§ 3 The Middle High German sibilants /s/ and /ʒ/ merge in BG /s/ except before <u>l, m, n, r, w, p, t</u> where MHG /s/ corresponds to BG /š/.
Examples:
<u>MHG /s/ =</u>
BG /s/ : sëhs : seks 'sechs', sichel : sihel 'Sichel', lėsen : lɛ:sa 'lesen', hase : ha:s 'Hase'.
/š/ : slam : šlam 'Schlamm', smęcken : šmega 'schmekken', snalle : šnal 'Schnalle', swęllen : šuɛla 'schwellen', spor : šbo:r 'Sporn', stunde : štond 'Stunde', vėrs : fɛ:rš 'Vers'.

<u>MHG /ʒ/ =</u>
BG /s/ : haʒ : has 'Haß', laʒʒen : lasa 'lassen', ėʒʒen : ɛsa 'essen', ameiʒe : oma:is 'Ameise'.

§ 4 The reflex of the Middle High German nasal /m/ + its homorganic stop /p/ before /f/ is just the nasal in BG.
Examples:
stumpf : štomf 'stumpf', kampf : kamf 'Kampf'.

§ 5 MHG /n/ corresponds to a bilabial nasal in BG before /f/.
Examples:
vünf : femf 'fünf', sënef : semf 'Senf', hanef : hamf 'Hanf'.

CHAPTER V

DIALECT MIXTURE IN THE BESSARABIAN GERMAN DIALECT IN MEDICINE HAT, ALBERTA

This chapter attempts to trace the relationship of BG to dialects in Germany. In so doing, linguistic evidence will be found for the origin and route of migration of BG speakers which were described in Chapter I. In addition, BG's differences from the standard language which cannot be explained historically will be seen in connection with other dialects, thus viewing BG as part of a whole rather than in isolation.

With the change of Gmc. p, t, k BG participated in the Second Sound Shift and may therefore be classified as a High German dialect. Judging by its shift of Gmc. pp to BG /pf/, its home is to be found south of the appel/apfel isogloss, i.e. south of the line connecting Straßburg - Karlsruhe - Gemünden[1] (see map on p. 138). BG is therefore an Upper German dialect. In order to narrow its area of origin further, we selected certain features from phonology and morphology and drew their isoglosses. Many more language features were examined than are discussed here. The items left unmentioned would not alter our findings.

a. From phonology:

1. The Middle High German monophthongs /î, û/ are diphthonized to /ai, au/ in BG, e.g., îs : ais 'Eis', hûs : haus 'Haus'. The isogloss hûs/haus cuts away the area to the south-west of Karlsruhe -Dornstetten - Sigmaringen[2] (see map).

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[1]Unless otherwise indicated, isoglosses in this chapter are taken from the "Sprachatlas". (Cf. Ferdinand Wrede, Deutscher Sprachatlas (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1927-1956).

[2]Adolf Bach, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1965), p. 227.

2. The high vowels /i, ü, u/ are lowered before nasals to /e, o/ in BG, e.g., blẽnd 'blind', ẽdremf 'Strümfe', hõnd 'Hund'. Outside this lowering area lies the region east of Dinkelsbühl - Wassertrüdingen - Donauwörth[3] (see map).
3. Characteristic for BG is the palatalization of /s/ to /š/ in the clusters /st, sp/ in all positions, even loanwords are subjected to this change, e.g., arešdand 'Russ. arestand (Sträfling)'. The /šd, šb/ clusters in all positions distinguish BG from Bavarian in the east where they occur only initially.[4]
4. The BG lengthening of Middle High German short vowels distinguishes this dialect in the south from Low Alemannic. BG's origin, therefore, according to this feature, must have been north of the sage/säge line which runs west of Sigmaringen - Schussenried - Wangen[5] (see map).
5. Although a uvular /r/ was already introduced from French into German in the seventeenth century,[6] the

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[3]Peter Wiesinger, Phonetisch-phonologische Untersuchungen zur Vokalentwicklung in den deutschen Dialekten (2 vols.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970), I, 289.

[4]Karl Bohnenberger, "Von der Südostecke des Schwäbischen," ZfhdMa, III (1902), 165.

[5]Hugo Moser, "Vollschwäbisch, Stadtschwäbisch und Niederalemannisch im seither württembergischen Oberschwaben," Alemannisches Jahrbuch (1954), 423.

[6]A. Bach, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, p. 312. W. G. Moulton provides evidence that already at the end of the sixteenth century some German-speaking areas showed a voiced velar spirant and/or uvular trill. (Cf. William G. Moulton, "Jacob Böhme's Uvular "r"," JEGP, LI (1952), 81-89).

majority of South Germans still apply the apical trill[7] especially in rural areas.[8] BG with the exclusive use of the tongue tip "r" has its home in this area. However, it has to be said that like most German settlement dialects in eastern Europe,[9] BG trills its apical "r" considerably (except before dentals) whereas in southern Germany the trill is not so pronounced.

b. From morphology:

1. Just as the language area south of Zweibrücken - Speyer - Mannheim - Würzburg, BG has no simple past tense except for the verb 'to be' (see map). For 'hatten gesehen' BG uses hen gsẽ ghed where hen ghed has taken the place of Standard German 'hatten'. 'Hatten gehabt' is hen ghed, too, otherwise ghed would have to be repeated.
2. No vowel change through the singular conjugation in the present indicative or the imperative occurs in BG, e.g.,

i:/ih	hɛlf 'ich helfe'	hɛlf 'hilf'
du:	hɛlfṡ 'du hilfst'	hɛlfad 'helft'
a:r	hɛlfd 'er hilft'	

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[7]So in Swabian, Bavarian, and Alemannic. (See Friedrich Kauffmann, Geschichte der schwäbischen Mundart (Straßburg: K. J. Trübner, 1890), p. 10; Karl Weinhold, Alemannische Grammatik (Berlin: F. Dümmler, 1863; Editions Rodopi Amsterdam, 1967), p. 164; Karl Weinhold, Bairische Grammatik (Berlin: F. Dümmler, 1867; reprint Wiesbaden: M. Sändig, 1968), p. 166).

[8]Hermann von Fischer, Geographie der schwäbischen Mundart (Tübingen: H. Laupp, 1895), p. 52.

[9]See Walther Mitzka, Studien zum baltischen Deutsch, DDG, XVII (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1923), pp. 34-35, and Victor Schirmunski, "Die schwäbischen Mundarten in Transkaukasien und Südukraine," Teut., V (1928), 47.

i:/ih	bah 'ich backe'	bah 'backe'
du:	bahš 'du bäckst'	bahad 'backt'
ɛ:r	bahd 'er bäckt'	
i:/ih	gib 'ich gebe'	gib 'gib'
du:	gibš 'du gibst'	(gẽn) 'gebt'
ɛ:r	gibd 'er gibt'	

3. The Standard German prefix 'ge-' in verbs before stops is lost in BG just as in the area south of Offenburg - Karlsruhe - Eppingen - Wimpfen - Widder a.J. The isogloss brohen/gebrochen thus excludes Rhenish Franconian as possible homeland for BG (see map).
4. BG has a south German diminutive suffix. Its sg. -le/ pl. -la forms are distinguished from the Low Alemannic -li, the Bavarian -erl/-l and the eastern East Franconian -le/ -lich.[10]
5. Since BG uses ons 'uns', its homeland lies north of the isogloss ons, aus/ eis, i.e. north of the area Wildbad - Bindsdorf - Ebingen - Münzingen - Wiesensteig - Günzburg - Donauwörth (see map).
6. The personal pronoun for the second person plural distinguishes BG from Bavarian. The isogloss aih/ enk runs east of Nürnberg and Bayreuth.[11]

These phonological and morphological characteristics indicate then that the origin of BG lies in the Swabian and East Franconian areas, a fact which agrees with the settlement history. Earlier speakers of BG must have left the region bordered by the following cities: Karlsruhe - Eppingen - Widder a.J. - Gaildorf - Dinkelsbühl - Donauwörth - Wiesensteig - Ebingen - Dornstetten.

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[10] Ferdinand Wrede, Die Diminutiva im Deutschen, DDG I (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1908), pp. 111-112, 118, 122.

[11] Hugo Steger, "Stand und Aufgaben ostfränkischer Mundartforschung," JffL, XXI (1961), 231.

Therefore BG has to be compared with Swabian and East Franconian but cannot be identified with either one of them, as will be demonstrated with selected examples from the phonology, the morphology, and the vocabulary.

1.0 BG Features Common to both Swabian and East Franconian

a. From phonology:
   1. the correspondences for MHG /i, ü, u/,
   2. the raising of MHG /ǫ/ to /e/ before nasals, e.g., nęmen : nema 'nehmen',
   3. the loss of Middle High German unstressed final /-e/, e.g., kats 'Katze',
   4. the assimilation of medial /b/ to /m/, e.g., lemer (MHG lęmber) 'Lämmer',
   5. the loss of final /-n/ after vowels, e.g., laha 'lachen', tsã 'Zahn'.

b. From morphology:
   1. all three lost the simple past tense,
   2. there is a preference for forming the plural of masculine nouns with umlaut, e.g., dɛ:g 'Tage', ɛrm 'Arme', uɛ:ga 'Wagen',
   3. the feminine suffixes sg. -e, pl. -ena for Standard German '-in, -innen', e.g., kehe 'Köchin', kehena 'Köchinnen', frõinde 'Freundin', frõindena 'Freundinnen'.

2.0 BG Features Common to Swabian

a. From phonology:
   1. the correspondences for MHG /ę, ö, o, a, â, ae/ are similar for BG and Swabian, e.g., reden : re:da 'reden', höfe : he:f 'Höfe', hof : ho:f 'Hof', mähtec : mɛhdih 'mächtig', laden : la:da 'laden', blâtere : blɔ:der 'Blase', zaehe : tsɛ:ɛ 'zäh'.
   2. MHG /ei, öu, ou/ before nasals correspond to /õi, ẽ, õ/, but do not agree in other environments.

3. High vowels are lowered before nasals, thus /i, ü/ and /u/ become /e/, and /o/.
4. Middle High German final /-e/ (< OHG -î) corresponds to BG and Swabian /-e/, e.g., kelte : kelde 'Kälte'.
5. Swabian loses "r" preceding dentals, e.g., dūscht 'Durst', wūscht 'Wurst'. BG reduces the pronunciation of /r/ in these positions to a non-syllabic vowel, e.g., [gɐ̯ɐ̯ɛ̆t] 'Gerste', [ʃɛ̆dɐ̯n] 'Stern'.
6. Swabian and BG retain intervocalic /g/ and /b/ as stops.
7. MHG /w/ is lost in all positions except initially, e.g., bûwen : baua 'bauen', ruowe : ru: 'Ruhe'.[12]

b. From morphology:

1. A unified plural present indicative ending is characteristic of both BG and Swabian, e.g., (mi:r, i:r, si) šbi:lad '(wir, sie) spielen, (ihr) spielt'.
2. The diminutive plural -la is common to both BG and Swabian.
3. The ned 'nicht' of the Stuttgart area[13], and iš 'ist' are also used in BG.

Characteristic Swabian Features not Present in BG

a. From phonology:

1. All Middle High German long high and mid vowels correspond to diphthongs in Swabian but BG as well as the standard language has diphthongs only for the long vowels /î, iu, û/, e.g., MHG zît : Sw. zeit [14], BG tsaid 'Zeit', but MHG roeselîn : Sw. raisle/

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[12] An exception is MHG êwec : BG e:uih 'ewig'; before /l, r/ MHG /w/ corresponds to BG and Swabian /b/.

[13] H. Moser does not supply a more precise location. (See H. Moser, "Vollschwäbisch, Stadtschwäbisch, und Niederalemannisch im seither württembergischen Oberschwaben," 427).

[14] All Swabian examples are given in Bohnenberger's notation.

rǫ̈sle, BG re:sle 'Röslein', MHG rôt : Sw. raut/ rǫ̈t, BG ro:d 'rot'.

2. All Middle High German diphthongs remain diphthongs in Swabian, while BG has diphthong correspondences only to MHG /ei, öu/, e.g., MHG bruoder : Sw. brueder, BG bru:der 'Bruder'.
3. MHG /ĕ/ and /ä/ are kept separate when lengthened in Swabian but not in BG.
4. Swabian distinguishes between the umlauted and the unumlauted MHG /iu/ (<OHG iu), while BG does not. In Swabian MHG /iu/ + i > iü > ü: : Swabian ei, but MHG /iu/ otherwise is Swabian ui. In BG no such distinction is made and MHG /iu/ corresponds to BG /ai/ in all positions, e.g., MHG ziuc (<OHG gaziug) : Sw. zuig, BG tsaig 'Zeug', MHG liute (<OHG liuti) : Sw. leit, BG laid 'Leute'.
5. Mid front vowels are raised to high in Swabian before /r/ but not in BG.[15]
6. Middle High German short vowels are lengthened preceding /ht/, and nasalized and lengthened before the clusters n + fricative; these features are all missing in BG.

b. From morphology:

1. Swabian uses MHG gân, stân forms but BG does not.
2. The plural present indicative for the verb 'to be' is 'sent, seit' in Swabian, but sen in BG.
3. The second singular verb ending is -ĕst in Swabian, but -s̆ in BG.[16]

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[15] One informant (FH), however, had this feature, too, e.g., irgra (MHG ergern) 'ärgern'.

[16] Bohnenberger states that in some areas of Württemberg the suffix -s̆ is used also. (See Karl Bohnenberger, Die Mundarten Württembergs (Stuttgart: Silberburg, 1928), p. 48).

4. Forms like nex 'nichts', -eŋ '-ung', -lech '-lich', -et '-ent' used in Swabian are all foreign to BG.

Therefore, BG may be considered a Swabian dialect only with reservations. The term 'neuschwäbisch' has been used to show a Swabian relationship[17], which suggests a more recent development rather than a geographic location.

3.0 BG Features Common to East Franconian

a. From phonology:

1. The correspondences for Middle High German long high vowels and /ei, ou/ are the same for both dialects, e.g., zît : tsaid 'Zeit', iuch : aih 'euch', hûs : haus 'Haus', breit : bra:id 'breit', rouch : ra:h 'Rauch'.
2. East Franconian does not distinguish between the umlauted and unumlauted MHG /iu/ (<OHG iu) and neither does BG. It has coalesced in both dialects with the umlauted Old High German monophthong û, e.g., MHG schiur (<OHG sciura) : šaier 'Scheune', MHG tiure (<OHG tiuri) : daier 'teuer', MHG hiuser (<OHG husir) : haiser 'Häuser'.
3. Both MHG /e/ and /o/ are lowered before r, phonetically [ɛ, ɔ].[18]
4. The umlaut of u before k is realized in the same words for East Franconian as for BG, e.g., brig 'Brücke', mug 'Mücke'.[19]

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[17] So in Albert Eckert, Die Mundarten der deutschen Mutterkolonien in Bessarabien und ihre Stammheimat, DDG XL (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1941), p. 35, or Victor Schirmunski, "Die schwäbischen Mundarten in Transkaukasien und Südukraine," 59.

[18] This lowering did not occur with one informant (FH).

[19] For more examples see Chapter IV, section 1.4, § 9.

5. The voiceless stops p, t, k are voiced between vowels.

b. From morphology:
   1. MHG gên, stên are used in both dialects.
   2. The past participle 'gehabt' and third person plural indicative 'sie haben' occur with umlaut, e.g., ghed 'gehabt', (si:) hen '(sie) haben'.
   3. Both dialects use niks 'nichts', and ih, dih 'ich, dich'.

Characteristic East Franconian Features not Present in BG

a. From phonology:
   1. The intervocalic stops b, g are realized as the fricatives w, x.[20]
   2. MHG /w/ is kept in all positions and not just initially as in BG; it is changed to b before consonants and finally.
   3. MHG /s/ is palatalized in st, sp only initially, but occurs as s medially and finally.
   4. East Franconian simplifies all -nd, nt to n. BG shows this feature in three isolated examples, e.g., ona 'unten', hena 'hinten', gădana 'gestanden', but keeps the dental stop otherwise, e.g., nonder 'hinunter', benda 'binden'.
   5. The lengthening of Middle High German short vowels was prevented in East Franconian in cases where the voiced stops preceded -er, -en, -el. In BG only isolated and sentence unstressed words show this feature, e.g., oder : oder 'oder', aber : aber 'aber', wider : uider 'wieder', but otherwise siben : si:ba 'sieben', sagen : sa:ga 'sagen'.

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[20] G. Hahn noticed the b > w change in Lichtental, Bessarabia, but we did not encounter it in BG. (See Gottlieb Hahn, "Die Mundart von Lichtental, Kreis Akkerman, Bessarabien" (diss., Tübingen, 1929), p. 68).

6. High vowels are not lowered preceding nasals but rather preceding r. In BG, however, ir, ur do occur, e.g., kirh 'Kirche', kurts 'kurz'.
7. MHG /-e/ (<OHG ĭ/ finally is lost in East Franconian, but not in BG.
8. Except before nasals, MHG /öu, ou/ coalesced in East Franconian , but are kept separate in BG.

b. From morphology:

1. East Franconian has two different plural indicative verb endings, i.e. -e, and -t, where BG has only one, and uses -št for the second singular, where BG has -š.
2. The plural diminutive suffix for East Franconian is -li, or -lich, for BG -la.
3. The ge- prefix in the past participle before stops is kept in East Franconian, but not in BG, e.g., broha 'gebrochen'.
4. East Franconian suffixes -iŋ '-ung', and -i 'ig; -lich' correspond to BG -oŋ, -ih, -lih.

Thus BG can be considered only partly East Franconian. It is noteworthy, however, that certain features characteristic for BG can be found nowhere else except in the southwestern region of East Franconian, the area of the northern Black Forest and the region enclosed by Maulbronn - Baden-Durlach - Neckarsulm - Bretten. Bohnenberger's term for this area is "vorfränkisch"[21]. Here where both Swabian and East Franconian meet, some features are found, characteristic for this area and BG.

4.0 BG features Common to "Vorfränkisch"

1. MHG /ie, üe, uo/ correspond to /i:, i:, u:/,
2. the verb forms (ɛ:r) ɛsd '(er) ißt', (i:) ben '(ich) bin'.

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[21] K. Bohnenberger, Die Mundarten Württembergs, pp. 3-4, 95.

However, other features characteristic for "Vorfränkisch" are not shared by BG.

1. Middle High German correspondences of /o, ou/, and all long vowels (except û) are different for BG,
2. medial b changes to w, but not in BG,
3. "Vorfränkisch" has two plural indicative verb endings, where BG has only one.

"Vorfränkisch" because of its location, shares characteristics with either Swabian or East Franconian. Interestingly enough, some of them are features of BG, too. In the following, BG is compared with the pairs "Vorfränkisch" and Swabian, or "Vorfränkisch" and East Franconian.

5.0 BG Features Common to "Vorfränkisch" and Swabian

a. From phonology:
   1. the correspondences of MHG /ę, ö, a, öu/, also /ou/ before nasals,
   2. high vowels are lowered before nasals,
   3. Middle High German short vowels preceding voiced stops + -en, -er, -el are lengthened,
   4. medial n + t/d is kept as such.
   5. Final MHG /-e/ (<OHG î) is kept in all three dialects.
   6. Medial and final s is not palatalized preceding vowels.
   7. MHG /w/ is lost in all positions except initially.

b. From morphology:
   1. The past participle prefix 'ge-' is lost in verbs prededing stops, e.g., kohd 'gekocht'.
   2. The diminutive suffix sg. -le, pl. -la is common to all three dialects.
   3. g:r iš 'er ist' is used by all.

6.0 BG Features Common to "Vorfränkisch" and East Franconian

a. From phonology:

1. The correspondences to MHG /û, ei/ are /au, a:i/ for all three.
2. Medial p, t, k are voiced.
3. Middle High German short vowels are not lengthened before ht or n + fricative.
4. [ę, o] before r are lowered to [ɛ, ɔ].

b. From morphology:

1. All three dialects use MHG gên, stên.
2. MHG hân 'haben' is used with umlaut in the past participle and the plural present indicative.

BG then agrees most closely with "Vorfränkisch". However, even with this dialect not all features match.

7.0 BG Features Common to none of the Other Dialects

a. From phonology:

1. MHG /é, ä/ coalesced in BG and correspond to /ɛ:/ when lengthened. Swabian and "Vorfränkisch" have ęə, ę̄ here, and East Franconian ɛ̄. BG seems to have monophthongized the Swabian ęə (< MHG ĕ) to /ɛ:/, which then coalesced with ę̄ (< MHG /ä/). In this point BG developed from Swabian.
2. Medial MHG /h/ has been lost in BG, and so MHG sehen has been shortened to sẽ. It is sęə in Swabian and sẽne in East Franconian and "Vorfränkisch". BG sẽ could have developed from MHG sên, too, whatever the root; it is important that BG has no equivalent in the other dialects for this word.

b. From morphology:

1. The vowel in the singular present indicative verb conjugation stays the same throughout in BG, but not

so in the other dialects.

2. The correspondences -ŋŋ '-ung', -ih/-lih '-ig/ -lich', are uniquely BG.
3. The infinitive 'ziehen' is tsi:ga in BG, thus infinitive and past participle have the same medial stop, i.e. tsi:ga, tso:ga 'ziehen, gezogen'.

In the search for BG's origin, vocabulary provides evidence of a similar type to that from phonology and morphology.[22] There are items in use in both Swabian and East Franconian which are also common to BG, e.g., baitš 'Peitsche', dohderman 'Schwiegersohn', laih 'Begräbnis', fri:ɪ̯ɔ:r 'Frühling', ha:fa 'Topf', gensger 'Gänserich', and milihsaile 'Ferkel'.

In common with East Franconian BG uses daiksel 'Deichsel' (Sw. Deisel), daibrih 'Täuberich' (Sw. Keitel), ki:sla 'hageln', šu:bendel 'Schnürsenkel' (Sw. Schuhnesch-tel), šuɛ:bele 'Streichholz'.

As particular Swabian are considered ku:kalb or kɛlble 'Kalb' (E Fr. Moggele), endrih 'Enterich' (E Fr. Audrache), sẽnere 'Schwiegertochter', ha:gla 'hageln'.

Lastly, characteristic of only "Vorfränkisch" and BG are mɛrtsafaigele 'Veilchen' (Sw. Veigele, E Fr. Veilchele), hõ 'Huhn' (Sw. and E Fr. Hinkel), and mold 'Backtrog' (Sw. Bachschissel, E Fr. Backmulde).[23]

There are vocabulary items in BG, however, which generally have no correspondences in South Germany, but rather in German-speaking Poland in the area between Bromberg and Lodz. From there must have come šmand 'Sahne',

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[22] Examples have been selected from Walther Mitzka und Ludwig E. Schmitt, Deutscher Wortatlas, vols. III-XVIII (Gießen: W. Schmitz, 1954-1971), and the "Sprachatlas".

[23] It has been brought to the author's attention that some of the vocabulary mentioned are Bavarian also, but this does not change the fact that BG is basically a mixture of Swabian and East Franconian.

diśler 'Schreiner' (Sw. and E Fr. Schreiner), śnurk›:der 'Kreisel', kardofel 'Kartoffel' (Sw. Grombire, E Fr. Erbirn), mol 'Maulwurf'.[24] This agrees with our knowledge that some settlers were in Poland less than twenty years before re-emigrating to Bessarabia. No specially Polish-German features were found in phonology or morphology.

Judging from linguistic evidence, it can be said that the earlier speakers of BG must have emigrated from the Swabian - East Franconian area, the route of some leading over Poland, where they incorporated some vocabulary items. The language thus verifies the route described in the settlement history (Chapter I).

It is interesting to see in what way the mixture of dialects developed into BG. Most obvious is the elimination of the many otherwise infrequent features of each dialect, such as 1. the many Swabian or East Franconian diphthongs where BG retained only /ai, a:i, au, a:u/, and /õi/ before nasals, 2. the Swabian loss of n preceding fricatives with compensatory lenthening, e.g., Swabian fẽśder : BG fenśder 'Fenster', 3. the East Franconian lowering of high vowels before r, 4. the East Franconian pronunciation of all intervocalic b as w, and all g as x, 5. the Swabian gān, stān forms. Each of these losses resulted in a closer approximation to the standard language.

The question arises whether the influence of Standard German caused these changes. It seems highly unlikely, however, that the little contact with the standard language which the speakers had in Bessarabia would be so influencial. Linguistic evidence may support this doubt, for there are other features of BG stikingly dif-

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[24]This is a complete list of words from the "Wortatlas" showing connections between Polish-German and BG. In order to restrict the volume of this chapter no dialect dictionaries were consulted.

ferent from Standard German, such as 1. the unrounding of front rounded vowels, 2. nasalization, 3. the use of only one root vowel throughout the singular present conjugation, and 4. the unified plural verb ending. The influence of Standard German produced a different result, as will be shown in the next chapter in the analysis of BG speakers born and raised in the Medicine Hat area. We believe that Standard German did not influence the basic dialect of BG to a great extent. BG's unique features developed from the interaction of Swabian and East Franconian, resulting frequently in the same kind of compromise as in the standard language.

The fact that BG has many features in common with "Vorfränkisch" could suggest that a great section of the original settlers came from this south-western corner of East Franconia. However, through the interaction of Swabian and East Franconian outside their region, similar developments may have resulted as in the homeland. Double forms such as ki:sla/ha:gla 'hageln', i:/ih, di:/dih 'ich, dich', fra:/fra:u 'Frau' within one idiolect show a still active struggle between the two dominant dialects. Therefore, it is not possible to limit BG's original homeland any further than to the Swabian - East Franconian area.

Because BG can be directly related to Upper German dialects and the Middle High German courtly language was mainly an Upper German compromise, the use of Middle High German as a historical starting point for BG is largely justified.

Map to Chapter V

CHAPTER VI

INFLUENCES ON THE BESSARABIAN GERMAN DIALECT IN MEDICINE HAT, ALBERTA

In the previous chapters we dealt with the description and history of BG as well as its relationship to other German dialects. This chapter will try to analyze influences on BG in the speech of the ten informants chosen. Before this can be attempted, however, the concept of actually manifested influence or interference has to be defined: Interference phenomena are occurrences of deviations from the norm of any one language which are caused by language contact. For our analysis we are taking BG's sound system, grammar, and lexicon as the norm, with which all data material is compared. Any deviation from or innovation on it will be considered foreign influence and then traced to its source; that is, any utterance in the speech of the informants should exhibit BG sounds and its morphological system, it should occur in a BG syntax and should be part of BG's lexicon. If any one of these four is replaced by another element, we are dealing with interference at one or more of the four levels. Thus a word like ['nõi-tšamba] 'to jump into (s.th.)', given with BG sounds and endings, i.e. [-tšamb-] for English [dʒ̥ɛmp] and {nõi-} and {-a}, will be considered influenced only at the lexical level, since its pronunciation and morphology correspond to the BG systems. If a word like [gɛlt] 'Geld' is pronounced [gɛɬt] , interference will have occurred in phonology only, as the English [l̥, ɬ] replaced the BG [ɛl] . In [kʰ̥ɛsens] 'cousins' more than one level is influenced: [ʰ̥] is foreign to BG's phonology, {-s} is not a BG plural allomorph, and at the lexical level, this word replaced the BG gẽuiẽdrih'kender. As the phonemic analysis of BG in Chapter II applies without exception to Bessarabian-born informants only, it serves as a starting

point for the analysis of the speech of Canadian-born persons. Because interference exhibited itself differently in each of the Canadian-born informants, a phonetic analysis will be performed rather than a phonemic.

The analysis will show that BG was influenced from two sources: Standard German and English. Therefore, each language contact will be dealt with as to the changes in phonology, grammar, and lexicon.

In order to allow the reader to understand the discussion better, we will give the language background of each informant (for a short biographical description of each informant see Appendix I): Of the ten informants interviewed, four were born in Bessarabia, having come to Canada as adults; the other six grew up in Canada with Bessarabian-born parents. The first language learned by each person was BG, although those born in Canada now prefer to speak English. Eight informants can be regarded as being bilingual in Uriel Weinreich's sense of bilingualism, "the practice of alternately using two languages,"[1] although it should be noted that in some cases the degree of competence in at least one was not high, and that it could be argued that we are dealing with trilingualism, since both English and Standard German affect BG. The other two informants, who came to Canada at the age of fifty-eight and forty-three, respectively, neither speak nor write English, but they understand it to some extent.[2]

As far as Standard German is concerned, each informant was introduced to Standard German in one or two

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[1]Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact 3rd ed. (The Hague: Mouton, 1964), p. 1.

[2]Einar Haugen, reviewing Weinreich (Language, XXX (1952), 380) considers bilingual "anybody who has learned to understand a second language." We shall use the word in Weinreich's sense.

of three ways, 1. through courses in public schools (in Bessarabia or Canada), 2. through a stay of some length in Germany (the two monolinguals and LF), 3. through confirmation classes and Sunday School. They had all achieved some degree of competence in Standard German.

Because each informant has had contact with both English and Standard German, these two languages, as shown below, have brought about changes in BG. This chapter is, therefore, divided into two parts discussing the interference 1. from Standard German, and 2. from English.

1.0 Interference from Standard German

Through the contact with Standard German, the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon of BG were influenced, although with individual variations among the informants. We shall restrict ourselves in this section to the analysis of differences and innovations in BG through the contact with Standard Germán rather than to the retention of features in BG.

Of the Bessarabian-born informants none showed interference from Standard German in their phonological system and in only one person morphological interference occurred. Therefore, the speech of Bessarabian-born informants is not analyzed at the phonetic level.

The persons born in Canada showed considerable interference from the standard language in phonology, morphology, and syntax, especially the three youngest who had recently taken German courses in school. The other three Canadian-born informants learned the standard language through church activities, but ceased to have contact with German in this environment twelve (HSk, LF) and thirty-five (AS) years ago. At church, stress would have been on content rather than on the correct form of the language, which is another factor that could have

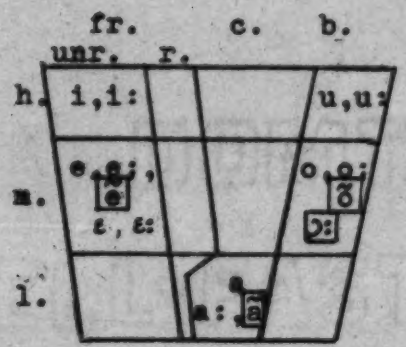
reduced the interference of Standard German in these informants.

1.10 Phonic Interference[3]

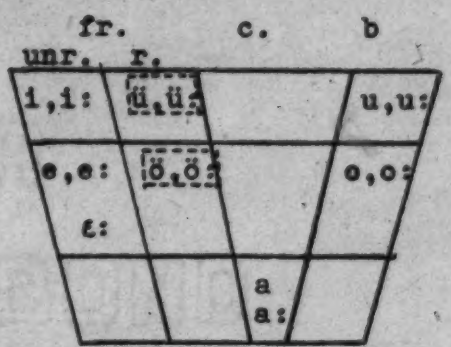
Before analyzing phonic interference from Standard German in the speech of the Canadian-born informants, the phonemic systems of BG and Standard German will be compared.

Vowels:

BG:



Standard German:



All Standard German vowels may occur before nasals, but in BG high vowels never precede nasals.

Diphthongs:

BG: /ai, a:i , au, a:u, õi/ Standard German: /ai, au, oi/.

Interference from Standard German can be expected in two areas: 1. where Standard German phonemes are unmatched in BG, or vice versa, and 2. in words where the correspondences with Middle High German sounds are different for BG than for the standard language. In the diagrams of vowels and the list of diphthongs those phonemes,

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[3]Instances of interference are analyzed at different structural levels. For this method I am indebted to W. F. Mackey, "Bilingual Interference: its Analysis and Measurement," Journal of Communication XV (1965), 239-249, and U. Weinreich, Languages in Contact (1964).

which could intrude into BG, are indicated by dotted lines. These are front rounded vowels, unnasalized /oi/, and high vowels preceding nasals. Conversely, BG phonemes without approximate equivalents in Standard German may tend to disappear. These endangered phonemes, enclosed by solid lines in the diagrams and the list of diphthongs, are the lower-mid back vowel /ɔ:/, nasalized /ẽ, ã, õ, õi/, and the long diphthongs /a:i, a:u/. Where there are phonetically similar sounds in BG and Standard German, they are almost indistinguishable from each other, and an influence from Standard German here is hard to detect.

Consonants:

BG:

	labial	dent.-alv.	palatal	velar
stops	p b	t d		k g
fricatives	f	s	š	h
nasals	m	n		ŋ
laterals		l		
trills		r		

Standard German:

	labial	dent.-alv.	palatal	velar
stops	p b	t d		k g
fricatives	f v	s [z]	š j	ç, h[x]
nasals	m	n		ŋ
laterals		l		
trills		r		

As far as consonants are concerned, Standard German /z/ is unmatched in BG, and therefore can be expected to cause interference. The other Standard German phonemes /v, j, ç, x/ are realized as allophones in BG; their distribution (see Chapter II, 3.3) does not differ from the standard language and therefore is not expected to cause interference. However, the distribution of voiced stops, and /š/ and /n/ is different in the two languages and is susceptible to interference.

Interference usually resulted in BG and Standard German sounds standing in free variation with each other, however, only in words where the variations are

motivated diachronically. For the alternating sounds frequency ratios are given below in sets of numbers: the first number stands for the sound first mentioned, and the sum of the numbers would be the total of occurrences in the corpus. The following areas of interference could be observed.

1.11 Vowels

§ 1 As expected the front rounded NHG vowels /ü, ü:, ö, ö:/, and the diphthong /oi/ were used interchangeably for BG /i, i:, e, e:/, and /ai/, although only by the three youngest informants in words where Standard German would use the rounded sounds. Thus daitš alternated with doitš 'deutsch', tü:r ~ di:r 'Tür', efder ~ öfder 'öfter', hö:r 'höre' occurred, but gre:ser 'größer'. The following frequency ratios could be observed for /oi ~ ai/, HSr 10:5, NK 9:6, HK 9:2; /ü: ~ i:/ HSr 2:2, NK 2:7, HK 3:5; /ü ~ i/ HSr 0:2, NK 1:1, HK 2:2; /ö: ~ e:/ HSr 1:1, NK 1:1, HK 1:1; /ö ~ e/ HSr 1:1, NK 1:1, HK 1:1. The older informants learned the standard language through church activities, where content was stressed rather than pronunciation. Thus the older Canadian-born persons' Standard German does not include front rounded vowels and so could not influence BG.

The Standard German diphthong /oi/ is used very frequently while the Standard German front rounded vowels occur less often than their unrounded counterparts. Three possible reasons can be adduced: 1. /oi/ resembles English /ɔi/, 2. it is like BG /õi/, only unnasalized, 3. no new sound had to be learned especially for Standard German. For the greater frequency of this diphthong, therefore, the influence may be partly of English origin.

§ 2 The two youngest informants alternated /a:i ~ ai/ (< MHG /ei/). The variation with the long diphthong occurs only where historically justified, i.e. where Middle High German has /ei/. Thus tsua:i ~ tsuai 'zwei', ih ua:is ~ ih uais 'ich weiß' occurred. The frequency ratios, NK 5:3, HK 5:2, still show a preponderance of the BG sound which all the other informants used.

§ 3 Under the influence of Standard German /au/ all Canadian-born informants alternated /a:~a:u/ (< MHG /ou/), the three youngest also with /au/, in words where BG has /a:/ and NHG /au/. Thus, for example, ka:fa ~ ka:ufa 'kaufen', and ra:h ~ ra:uh 'Rauch' occurred. The frequency ratios for /a:~ a:u ~ au/ are HSk 7:8:0, AS 10:3:0, LF 1:19:0, HSr 3:2:11, NK 2:5:1, HK 0:1:4. Only one informant used the BG /a:/ more frequently than /a:u/; she (AS) is the one with the least contact with Standard German. Two of the three youngest informants prefer the short diphthong, which is in use in the standard language. With the short diphthong a complete transfer has been made to the Standard German sound.

§ 4 /a:~ ɔ:/ (< MHG /â/) in all CBG informants except AS, the frequency ratios are HSk 1:16, LF 2:9, HSr 6:8, NK 7:3, HK 4:4, e.g., šbra:h ~ šbrɔ:h 'Sprache', ia:r ~ iɔ:r 'Jahr'. MHG /âw/, which corresponds to BG /ɔ:/ but Standard German /au/, showed fluctuation, too, for example in gra:u ~ grɔ: 'grau', la:u ~ lɔ: 'lau'.

§ 5 Lengthened MHG /ê/ appeared alternately as /e: ~ ɛ:/ in four persons (not in AS and LF), e.g., me:l ~ mɛ:l 'Mehl', le:der ~ lɛ:der 'Leder'. The frequency ratios are HSk 1:4, HSr 1:4, NK 1:5, HK 3:5. AS, being the oldest and having the least schooling in High German, has been removed long enough from this language not to show interference; LF, being a teacher herself, was the one most conscious of her usage.

§ 6 MHG unstressed /ə/ in the prefixes ge- and be- and finally is lost except in those forms which correspond to OHG /î, iu/. This difference between Standard German and BG led to alternate forms like besu:h ~ bsu:h 'Besuch', di:re ~ di:r 'Tür', om sekse ~ om seks 'um sechs', šbra:he ~ šbrɔ:h 'Sprache', genomen ~ gnoma 'genommen'. The frequency ratios NHG : BG usage are HSk 1:16, AS 0:36, LF 5:22, HSr 34:19, NK 25:24, HK 14:31.

§ 7 All six CBG informants alternated lowered vowels before nasals with those not lowered, thus finf ~ femf 'fünf', tsimlih ~ tsemlih 'ziemlich', and tsum ~ tsom 'zum' occurred. The frequency ratios are for /in ~ en/ HSk 6:4, AS 0:36, LF 3:22, HSr 9:19, NK 1:10, HK 4:7; for /un ~ on/ it is HSk 1:10, AS 1:35, LF 0:25, HSr 2:9, NK 0:12, HK 6:5. All but one (HK) still prefer the lowered BG sounds.

§ 8 Great fluctuation can be seen in diphthongs before nasals. However, the rare occurrence of BG /õi/ is striking. Only two of the Canadian-born informants showed this nasalized diphthong (AS, HSr) and both only once; the older three informants use /ãi/ (HSk and LF exclusively, AS with the exception of one example), the younger three have /ãi ~ ai/, and also an unnasalized /oi/. Variants like ãin ~ ain 'ein', or frãind ~ froind 'Freund' occur. The frequency ratios for /ãi ~ ai ~ oi/ for the three youngest persons are HSr 10:27:2 (HSr also had /õi/ once), NK 14:10:2, HK 3:9:4.

Where BG /ã/ corresponds to Standard German /au/ before nasals, a fluctuation is noticable, too, with frequency ratios for /ãũ ~ ã/ as follows: HSk 3:3, AS 0:7, LF 3:1, HSr 0:3, NK 2:2, HK 4:2 (HK also had one unnasalized /au/ before a nasal). Thus, pairs like pflãũma ~ pflãma 'Pflaumen', or dãũma ~ dãma 'Daumen' occurred.

§ 9 The final Standard German suffix '-en/-n', or '-en-' preceding final d/t correspond to BG /a/, e.g., faira 'feiern', dausad 'tausend'. In the speech of the Canadian-born informants this led to great confusion in nouns, the endings of infinitives, adjectives, and past participles, e.g., ɔ:bend~ ɔ:bad 'Abend', ka:ufen ~ka:fa 'kaufen'. The frequency ratios /-en ~ -a/ are HSk 4:19, AS 0:36, LF 3:23, HSr 23:44, NK 8:20, HK 2:24. The informant who had three years of High School German (HSr) uses the Standard German syllable the most.

1.12 Consonants

§ 1 Syllable-final BG /n/ is lost frequently, nasalizing the preceding vowel or diphthong. Except for AS all CBG informants show a tendency to replace this consonant to some degree, which is clearly Standard German influence, e.g., grẽn ~ grẽ 'grün', bra͂un ~ bra͂ũ 'braun', tsã̃n ~tsã̃ 'Zahn'. The frequency ratios for -Ṽn# ~ -Ṽ# are HSk 6:13, LF 10:10, HSr 10:9, NK 6:9, HK 12:3.

§ 2 In BG medial voiceless stops are voiced. This custom was not practised consistently by the informants, e.g., sonta:g ~ sonda:g 'Sonntag', uɐrter ~ uɐrder 'Wörter'. The frequency ratios voiceless : voiced are HSk 6:17, AS 1:140, LF 9:20, HSr 10:25, NK 9:13, HK 14:14.

Many BG initial voiced stops corresponds to voiceless ones in Standard German, causing variation also in the informants, e.g., ti:r ~di:r 'Tür'. The occurrences of voiceless stops for voiced ones were HSk 4:8, AS 1:20, LF 6:15, HSr 11:26, NK 11:12, HK 12:7. Hypercorrection led to words like tã̃ma 'Daumen', or tin 'dünn' in HSr.

§ 3 Standard German /st/ corresponds to BG /šd/ in all positions. This led to interference medially and finally in four informants (all CBG speakers except AS and LF). Šuešder alternated with šuesder 'Schwester', or e:rsd with e:ršd 'erst'. The frequency ratios /sd ~ šd/ are HSk 2:6, HSr 6:3, NK 3:2, HK 1:7.

§ 4 One of the younger generation (HSr) acquired a voiced alveolar sibilant, using it initially, and occasionally medially, after vowels, e.g., zi:ba 'sieben', be:za 'Besen'. The frequency ratio for /z ~ s/ is HSr 12:33.

1.20 Phonic Interference Caused by Spelling

For one informant (LF), who reads more than all the others, a spelling pronunciation could be observed.

§ 1 For her the Standard German interference is obvious in cases of MHG /ę/, BG /e/ or /e:/, where Standard German spelling has ä. Forms like gešd ~ gɛšd 'Gäste' (MHG gęste), negel ~ nɛ:gel 'Nägel' (MHG nęgel) occurred. A lower-mid vowel /ɛ/ replaced the upper-mid BG /e/.

§ 2 BG /n/ preceding /f/ or /g/ has not been assimilated to /m/ or /ŋ/ for LF. Through the influence of spelling, she used forms like fenf 'fünf', where BG has femf, and efange:liš 'evangelisch' for BG efange:liš.

In summary, then, it can be said that through the contact with Standard German, BG did not suffer any losses in its phonological system. Instead, the following additions were made:

a. vowels preceding nasals: i, i:, u, u:,
b. front rounded vowels: ü, ü:, ö, ö:,
c. diphthongs: oi, ãĩ, ãũ,
d. consonants medially: p, t, k, z,
e. consonants initially: z,
f. consonant clusters medially and finally: sd.

However, since these additions did not occur in the Bessarabian-born persons and since they were not equally adopted by the other informants, the phonological system of which they have become a part is so complex and fluid that no attempt will be made to describe it.

1.30 Grammatical Interference

1.31 Morphological Interference

As far as BG's morphology is concerned, Standard German interfered in the following instances. (The informants born in Bessarabia used BG forms throughout except in one instance for JS, which will be mentioned there).

§ 1 BG's diminutive sg. -le, pl. -la was used correctly by only two Canadian-born informants (HSk, AS), and spontaneously only in mɛ:dle/mɛ:dla 'Mädchen'. Two informants (LF, HSr) gave the singular after special request, but preferred an adjective-noun construction, e.g., glõines kend for kendle 'Kindlein'. They were not sure of the plural and used -le (LF) or -lain (HSr) instead. The two youngest persons (NK, HK) never used the diminutive and could not give it even after special request.

§ 2 Two new plural allomorphs /-e, -n/ have been introduced into BG through the influence of Standard German. /-e/ was used only by the three youngest informants in words like ta:ge 'Tage', fi:se 'Füße', where BG has dɛ:g and fi:s. It brought about an uncertainty in the use of umlaut for the plural, e.g., sõne 'Söhne', where BG has sẽ. The plural ending /-e/ also occurred in ku:-sine 'Kusinen' (HK), ẽnderese 'Interessen' (LF) without precedent in BG or Standard German.

The plural suffix /-n/ in šuesdern 'Schwestern' for BG šuešdra is due to the Standard German plural suffix /-n/. Consequent uncertainty resulted in such forms as elder 'Eltern' (HSr, HK), where the

BG plural suffix /-ø/ was selected for BG eldra.

§ 3 General confusion prevailed in the use of cases and adjective endings. The influence of Standard German could be seen in the occurrence of ih, mih 'ich, mich' which were used exclusively and never in alternation with the other BG forms i:, mi:/me, but ui:r alternated with BG mi:r 'wir'. Also due to the contact with Standard German is the use of the suffix /-e/ for preceded adjectives in the feminine where BG has /-ø/. BG distinguishes between masculine and neuter for the indefinite article while Standard German does not. This difference led to alternate forms in all informants but HK. ãi ~ãin 'ein' occurred for BG õin in the nominative and accusative masculine and õi for nominative and accusative neuter.

§ 4 In the conjugation of verbs all but one informant (LF) still have a unified plural, but the BG /-ad/ alternated with /-en/ taken over from Standard German, e.g., (mi:r, i:r, si:) mahad ~mahen 'machen, macht'. In the first person singular the endingless BG forms alternated with those having /-e/, e.g., (ih) koh ~kohe '(ich) koche', and also the BG han alternated with NHG hab, or habe. Hypercorrection led to the use of /-e/ also with modal auxiliaries and 'wissen' in one informant (HSr), e.g., ih ua:ise 'ich weiß', ih muse 'ich muß'. HSr and NK frequently substituted the Standard German suffix st for the BG /š/ in the second singular.

§ 5 The use of umlaut in the singular present verb conjugation and the imperative were other areas of Standard German interference for the three youngest informants. BG does not change the vowel while the standard language does; therefore, froms like ih uaš mih, si: uɛšd sih 'ich wasche mich, sie wäscht sich' and hɛlf 'hilf' occurred.

Forms like ghad for BG ghed 'gehabt' or ales for BG ɛles 'alles' (HSk, HSr, NK) may also be connected to an uncertainty in the use of umlaut. We have noticed this phenomenon already in noun plurals.

§ 6 The introduction of unstressed /e/ in prefixes and suffixes through the contact with Standard German has been mentioned already. However, whole syllables were introduced also in positions where BG has lost them, e.g., the prefix 'ge-' before verb roots starting with stops and the suffix '-ed' after roots ending in a dental stop. For example, gebrauhd ~brauhd 'gebraucht', and grošded for BG grošd 'gerosted' occurred in all but one Canadian-born informant (AS) and also in the Bessarabian-born informant JS.

1.32 Syntactical Interference

In syntax, BG and Standard German are very similar; therefore, only few areas of interference could be detected. Evidence of contact is seen by absence of structures rather than by alternating ones.

§ 1 None of the six Canadian-born informants used the BG past II structure such as ɛ:r had gšafd ghed 'er hatte gearbeitet' or si: iš gfa:ra gu:: 'sie war gefahren'.

§ 2 The difference of BG present I and II (present II expressing a process going on in the present) was obscured in five of the Canadian-born persons (not AS), but present I was generally preferred, e.g., ih kem mih gra:d 'ich kämme mich gerade', which should be ih du:(r) me (gra:d) kema.

§ 3 The double negative, indicating emphasis in BG, was absent in all but one Canadian-born informant (present in AS).

1.4 Lexical and Semantic Interference

The lexical and semantic interference from Standard German is small compared with that from English, the reason, of course, being that BG and Standard German have so much in common. Terms for relatives like 'uncle' and 'aunt' were given in Standard German by all six informants, e.g., ongel 'Onkel', and dande 'Tante' rather than the BG feder 'Onkel', and ba:s 'Tante'. Here BG still has the Middle High German sense of these words, while Standard German uses them in the meaning of 'cousin'. HK also gave kusen and kusi:ne 'cousin' for BG gšuišdrihkend, while all the others knew only the English words. Alternate forms for 'fall' were given by the three older informants, i.e. hɛrbšd and šbɛ:di:ɔ:r representing the Standard German and the BG usage. The younger ones knew no German expression. This is understandable since Medicine Hat has only two seasons. Interesting was the general use of fra:u 'Frau' (except HSk), while BG uses uaib and uaibslaid for 'woman, women' in general, and fra:u in the meaning of 'lady'. Other Standard German words were eduas for BG ɛbes 'etwas' (AS), uõntsemer for BG šdub 'Wohnzimmer' (HSr, HK), gɛ:lb for BG gɛ:l 'gelb' (NK, HK), mo:ri:ba for BG gɛ:lri:ba 'Mohrrüben' (HK).

2.0 Interference from English

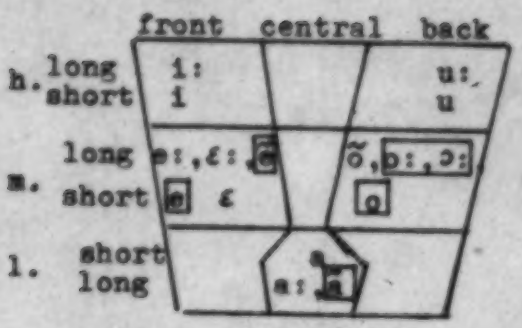
Before analyzing the interference from English on BG, the two phonemic systems used will be compared. Since all English vowels are laxer in comparison with their German counterparts, the diacritic /̣/ is used for English vowels, to distinguish the two codes.

Diphthongs:

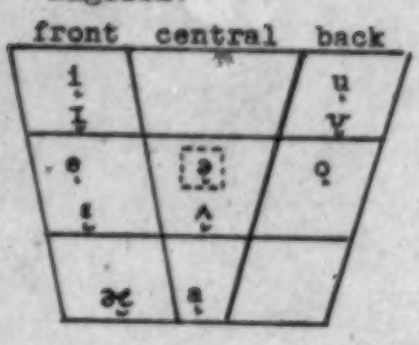
The English diphthongs are given as /ại, ọi, ạu/. Because of the difference in laxness, interference of English /ại, ạu/ with BG /ai, au/ can be expected.

Vowels:

BG:



English:



The long vowels /i̯, ɐ̯, o̯, ʉ̯/ in English occur normally with off-glides. Thus the long vowels differ to the greatest extent in the two languages, and here interference is expected. Also those sounds unmatched in the other language as BG /e, ẽ, ã, õ, ɔ:, o/ and the English /ə/ are susceptible to interference. BG /ɛ:, a/ resemble English /æ̯, ʌ̯/, for them, as for all the other sounds, greater or lesser laxness are the distinguishing characteristics between the two languages and consequently a substitution of an English sound for a BG sound can be expected.

Consonants:

BG:

	labial	dent.-alv.	palatal	velar
stops	p b	t d		k g
fricatives	f	s	š	h
nasals	m	n		ŋ
laterals		l		
trills		r		

English:

labial	dent.-alv.	palatal	velar
p b	t θ d ð		k g
f v w	s z	š ž, j	h
m	n		ŋ
	l		
	r		

The English consonant phonemes /l/, realized as [ɫ] (dark l), /θ, ð/ (interdental fricatives), /ž/ (voiced palatal sibilant), /r/, realized as [r̝] (retroflexed r), and /w/ (bilabial semivowel) are unmatched in

BG and are expected to interfere with the BG sound system. [v] occurs phonetically in BG and, of course, also in English; therefore, no interference is expected to occur.

2.1 Phonic Interference from English

None of the informants born in Europe used any English sounds in German words, neither did AS. The other five only alternated [ɬ, r ~ l, r] in German words, HSr also used [w] in [wɤrst] 'Wurst'[4] and HK [ɑ̯ʷ] in one instance, i.e. [brɑ̯ʷt] 'Brot'. With three informants (HSk, LF, and HK) these interference occurred in cognates only, e.g., [fiːr ~ fiːr] 'four', [september ~ septembər] 'September, [ɛɬf ~ ɛlf] 'eleven', [biːbəɬ ~ biːbel] 'Bible', [hardə ~ hardə] 'hard'. In addition to cognates, HSr and NK had interference in [glaːjdər] 'Kleider', [ʃraŋk] 'Schrank', [gɛɬt] 'Geld'.

HSk and NK used closed juncture occasionally before words starting with vowels, where BG would have a glottal stop, e.g., fiː'ronkel 'vier Onkel', duː'rih 'tu ich', alə'sap 'alles ab'.

All other instances of interference showed the converse process in which BG affected the pronunciation of loanwords from English. All informants, except the two monolinguals (JS and OE), gave proper names in the correct English pronunciation, e.g., ['mɛdəsən hɛt] 'Medicine Hat', ['siːpʰiːar] 'CPR'. For the other two Bessarabian-born informants (FH and OS) some proper names were the only words with English sounds. AS (Canadian-born) gave the places where she used to live as a child with German sounds, i.e. 'meːbel grig 'Maple Creek',

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[4] Since [wərst] 'Wurst' is used in Medicine Hat English in ['liːvərwərst] 'liver sausage' this word could be considered a loanword from the English language.

ualš 'Walsh', but places to which she moved later, were pronounced with English sounds, e.g., [ˈmɛdɪn hɛt] 'Medicine Hat'. Because they are in a special category, we shall exclude proper names from the analysis of phonic interference below.

It was observed that only Canadian-born informants used English sounds alternately with corresponding BG ones; therefore, the following analysis does not apply to Bessarabian-born persons.

2.11 Vowels

§ 1 Only NK, at present a high school student, used /ą/, e.g., in [fąrm]'farm'. All others substituted /a:/ or /a/, e.g., ka:r 'car', farm 'farm'.

§ 2 HSk and HSr lacked an /ǫ/ in their English loans, NK and HK used it exclusively (both are high school students at present), LF and AS alternated it with /o:/, e.g., [šmo:k] 'smoke', [bɪlǫᵛ]'below', [hǫᵛmwɜrk]'homework', uo:da 'to vote'. Before nasals /ǫ/ was regularly substituted by /õ/, e.g., fõn 'telephone'.

§ 3 /ɛ̨/ was used by all six CBG informants, e.g., [dɛ̨m] 'jam', [ɛ̨s] 'as', [kɛ̨dɛ̨ɫ] 'cattle'. AS substituted /ɛ/ for it in bɛghaisle 'back house'.

§ 4 The high back vowel /ų/ could be detected only in NK and AS. NK used it regularly, AS alternated it with /u:/, which all the others used exclusively, e.g., ru:m 'room', fru:d 'fruit', iu:sa 'to use', but [rųᵛf] 'roof' (NK, AS).

§ 5 /ɛ̨/ and /ɪ̨/ were present in all informants but alternated with /e/ or /ɛ/ and /i/, e.g., šuɛder 'sweater', tšeli 'jelly', fens 'fence', [fɛdɪ̨rɛɫ]'federal', gmiksd 'mixed', drɛgder 'tractor', kondre 'country', bile 'bills'.

§ 6 All CBG informants used /į/ and /ę/ but alternated them with /i:/ and /e:/, or /ẽ/ before nasals, e.g., tši:s 'cheese', [stįˣl]'steel', ke:g 'cake', [sęˣl]

'sale', drẽn 'train'.

§ 7 English /ə/ occurred as such in all positions except before German /r/ and sometimes before /n/, where /e/ was substituted, e.g., [pʰi̯ᴵtšɔs] 'peaches', [sʌ̯bɔ:r̥] 'supper', but grẽnere 'grainery', [kʰʌ̯sen] 'cousin'.

§ 8 /ʌ̯/ alternated with /a/ or /o/ in all CBG informants, e.g., garbitš 'garbage', trog 'truck', [kombai̯n ~ kʌ̯mbai̯n] 'combine'.

§ 9 The neutralization of vowel contrasts was not observed before German /r/, e.g., turkis 'turkeys', but [wəɹk] 'work'.

2.12 Diphthongs

/ai̯, oi̯, au̯/ are all present in the six informants, but alternate with /ai, õi, au/, e.g., faiden 'to fight', mail 'mile', [kombai̯n] 'combine', bòi 'boy', [pʰau̯dəɹ] 'powder', [au̯tsai̯d] 'outside'.

2.13 Consonants

§ 1 Final devoicing (Auslautsverhärtung) was generally not observed in English words ending in a voiced stop, e.g., [bəɹd] 'bird', [fi̯ᴵld] 'field', [wɪg] 'wig'. However, /ž/ in final positions and also medially was devoiced to /š/, e.g., fritš 'fridge', poretš 'porridge', [oraṇnš̥ɛs] 'oranges', but initially the clusters /dž/ did occur, e.g., [dža̯m] 'jam'.

§ 2 /w/, the bilabial semivowel, foreign to BG, occurred in four informants (not HSk and LF), e.g., [wai̯ə̯ɹ] 'wire', [gwəɹi̯ᴵd] 'worried', [wəɹst] 'Wurst'.

§ 3 In English loans [ɻ, ɹ] alternated with [l, r] frequently in all informants, e.g., [baisikel ~ bai̯sikəɻ] 'bicycle', [ka:ɹ ~ ka:r] 'car', mo:der 'motor', [kli̯ᴵnəɹ] 'cleaner'.

It could be observed that English lexical items borrowed into BG were usually adapted to its phonological

system and were felt as loanwords (that is, a natural part of the recipient language) rather than as foreign words (that is, words which typically break the phonological laws of the recipient language). This was always true for Bessarabian-born persons, while the Canadian-born informants showed exceptions. Thus, in English morphemes medial voiceless stops were voiced, e.g., mi:den 'meeting', /s/ before /b, d, l, m, n, r, u/ palatalized , e.g., šdenda 'to tolerated', šmo:ga 'to smoke', šuɛder 'sweater', and final voiced consonants (except sometimes stops) devoiced, e.g., šdo:f 'stove', [dęˑs] 'days', [orąnš] 'orange', fritš 'fridge'. In the same way BG /š/ or /f/ were substituted for English /š/ or /v/, e.g., [tšęm ~ džęm] 'jam', profins 'province', or /e/ for unstressed /i̯, I̯/ in kondre 'country', iu:neform 'uniform', and the others mentioned earlier (see 2.11, 2.12, 2.13).

In summary, then, it can be said that through the contact with English the following additions were made on BG:

a. vowels: ą, ɔ̨, ę, ɛ̨, æ̨, ǫ, i̯, I̯, o̯, u̯,
b. diphthongs: ąi, o̯i, ąu,
c. consonants finally: b, d, g,
d. consonants elsewhere: š, w, ṙ, ṛ.

2.20 Grammatical Interference

2.21 Morphological Level

At the morphological level only one English element could be observed, namely the plural allomorph {s} (or /-es/ after sibilants). Except for one instance (AS in tantes 'Tanten'), it was used exclusively in English loans, e.g., [kɔ̨sąns] 'cousins', [dęˑs] 'days', by all Canadian- and Bessarabian-born informants.

Instead of adding English morphemes onto German words, the reverse could be observed in all informants. English loanwords received BG suffixes, e.g., ple:nes lɛ:-

der 'plain leather', nõitšamba 'to jump in (s.th.)' karbeda 'carpets'.

None of the six Canadian-born informants used or knew actively the plural /-ena/ '-innen' nor the feminine noun ending /-e/ '-in', as in lɛ:rere 'Lehrerin', lɛ:rerena 'Lehrerinnen'. When asked for the word for female doctor or female teacher, the masculine BG word was given or the English expression.

2.22 Word Level

Greatest interference from English could be observed at the word level. Following E. Haugen's use of the terms, loanwords, loanblends, and loanshifts[5], we find all three in use by all ten informants.

2.221 Loanwords: The greatest number of English elements in BG are loanwords. In Haugen's definition these show "morphemic importation without substitution"[6], that is, the foreign element is taken over in its entirety. The morphemic importation occurs with or without phonemic substitution, that is, the foreign phonemes do or do not displace the native phonemes for rendering the new word.

The greatest number of loanwords were nouns; next in order were verbs, then adjectives. Their frequency ratios for each informant are FH 15:4:2, JS 3:0:0, OS 12:9:4, OE 3:1:0, HKs 47:2:3, AS 82:13:1, LF 33:3:0, HSr 45:9:0, NK 19:1:1, HK 9:0:0.

With the borrowing of English nouns into BG the problem of gender assignment arises. There was general agreement as to the gender of each noun except for the word 'farm', which was masculine for all Bessarabian-born informants and AS, all others used it as a feminine noun

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[5]E. Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," Language, XXVI (195), 210-231.

[6]Language, XXVI, 214.

just as it is in Standard German. On the whole a masculine tendency could be observed[7], not only in those that have the masculine ending /-er/, e.g., dɛ:r poliŝer 'polisher', or those that have a masculine cognate in BG as, for example, room 'der Raum'. The following were considered masculine: bedroom, bicycle, budget, cabinet, cake, chair, combine, engine, fireplace, floor, fridge, hallway, job, stove, table, telephone (or phone), tractor, train, trouble, truck, T.V. set, uniform, ward[8], wig. Feminine nouns were: car, committee, country, drywall, feedlot, grade, grainery, imagination, pie plate. Neuter nouns were: basement, district, meal, supper, sandwich, vegetable.

The number of the English equivalent was transferred on the BG brila 'glasses', which, for one set, should be in the singular, i.e. bril 'Brille'.

All English verbs borrowed into BG were considered weak and assigned to this class even those that are strong in English, e.g., ditŝd 'taught', gfaid 'fought' kɛtŝd 'caught', giu:sd 'used', gmiksd 'mixed', auskli:nd 'cleaned out'.

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[7]W. A. Willibrand observed a masculine tendency also in a Low German dialect of Westphalia, Missouri, while A. W. Aron saw a feminine leaning in colloquial American German. (Cf. W. W. Willibrand, "English Loan Words in the Low German Dialect of Westphalia, Missouri," Publication of the American Dialect Society, XXVII (1957), 16-21; and A. W. Aron, "The Gender of English Loan-Words in Colloquial American German," Language Monograph (1930), pp. 11-28).

[8]H. Wacker found this word feminine in Canadian newspapers. She believed in a feminine tendency because of the pronunciation [di:] of the English article before vowels, which German immigrants often pronounce [di:] like the German feminine article. However, she observed, too, that newer Canadian immigrants assign genders by analogy with the equivalent German word, which gives rise to a descrepancy in the use of gender between older and newer immigrants. (Cf. Helga Wacker, Die Besonderheiten der deutschen Schriftsprache in Kanada und Australien, Duden-Beiträge, Heft 17 (Mannheim: Dudenverlag, 1965), pp. 63f).

2.222 Loanblends: Haugen calls those borrowed elements loanblends which show morphemic importation as well as substitution, that is, at least one (but not all) foreign morpheme(s) is (are) replaced by (a) native morpheme(s). Since we have analyzed affixation at the morphological level, words like gmiksd 'mixed' will be excluded here. Loanblends are compound words, then. However, since English and German have many cognates in common, words could be included here that are otherwise loanwords with phonemic importation, e.g., [seˑlsman] 'salesman', [gra:s-mɑᵛəɾ]'grassmower'. True loanblends were sitsru:m 'sitting room', nõitšamba 'to jump into (s.th.)', nonderbɑga 'to back (a truck) down (a slope)', ke:s senduitš 'cheese sandwich', eksila hõim 'auxiliary home'. The last two occurred with two Bessarabian-born informants, the first with HSk, who lives with her Bessarabian-born mother. The absence of loanblends in the other informants shows that greater fluency of English tends to exclude translation, the whole loanword being used instead.

2.223 Loanshifts: are those words which show morphemic substitution without importation. Among these the following may be counted: bedtsemer 'bedroom' for BG šlɔ:ftsemer, buderfli:g 'butterfly' for BG fladermaus, ausšafa 'Medicine Hat English 'to work out' with the meaning 'to take employment' for BG šafa, abgle:gd 'laid off' for BG endlasa, hard 'hard' for BG šuɛ:r, lɛ:ba 'to live' for BG uõna, (tsaid) nema 'to take (time)' for BG daura, glaiha 'to like' for BG mẽga.

In this last word the German adjective 'gleich' has been converted into a verb by adding the proper ending,

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[9]This word could be analyzed as a loanblend with phonemic importation.

A complete list of English loans appearing in the data is found in Appendix V.

thus entering a new form class. An adjective became a noun in the case of a kald 'a cold' BG erkeldog. A shift in verb classes could be observed in BG reflexive verbs if the English cognate is nonreflexive, e.g., ih uonder 'I wonder' BG ih uonder me. (However, ih uonder has received the meaning of ih mehd gern uisa 'ich wüßte gern'), or des šald ɛles ab 'it turns everything off' BG des šald sih ɛles ab. In the last example the BG reflexive construction has been changed into a sentence with a noun as direct object.

2.30 Syntactic Interference

Syntactic interference was observed also at the phrase and clause level, but only in the three youngest of the Canadian-born informants and HSk. All Bessarabian-born informants and Canadian-born LF, a teacher, and AS, who has the least formal education of the Canadian-born, showed no interference from English in phrases or clauses.

2.31 Phrase Level

In prepositional phrases, the translated English preposition was substituted, e.g., auf dem fõn 'on the phone', BG would have am 'at', [(ih ge:) tsom wa̯šru:m]'(I go) to the washroom' for en 'in', tsu: daitšland 'to Germany', BG would have noh 'nach', (ahd iɔ:r) tsrig '(eight years) ago' for BG for (ahd iɔ:r) 'vor (acht Jahren)', (ɛ:r ge:d) dord '(he goes) there' for dord nã 'dorthin', bai tsẽne 'by ten' for BG om 'um'.

The BG prepositional phrase expressing genitive was changed in one instance (HSr) by the substitution of the English genitive case ending, e.g., mai frõinds nãma 'my friend's name' for BG dɛ:r nãma fon mõim frõind.

BG verbs requiring dative where English has a preposition often were given the English structure, e.g., ɛ:r gibd des tsu: sõim frõind 'he gives this to his friend' for BG ɛ:r gibd des sõim frõind.

2.32 Clause Level

In dependent clauses an English feature was adopted frequently by all Canadian-born and the two bilingual Bessarabian-born informants, where the inflected verb is not moved to the end of the clause as in BG practice. This interference is most prominent if a clause contains an auxiliary verb or a modal, e.g., uen ih uold a gla:id ka:fa 'wenn ich ein Kleid kaufen wollte', mener, uas ǎafad onder ẽm 'Männer, die unter ihm arbeiten', or uail ih nɛ: maine gla:ider alainih 'weil ich meine Kleider alleine nähe', das i: han der tšab grigd 'daß ich den job bekommen habe', and uemer šne: hen ghed 'wenn wir Schnee gehabt haben'.

In main clauses, adverbs of time and place often exchange position and the inflected part of the verb in clauses with compound verbs is not moved to the end of the clause, e.g., sai derhõim bai tsẽne for sai om tsẽne derhõim 'be at home by ten', ih ge: ɛsa am mida:g for ih ge: am mida:g ɛsa 'I go to eat at noon'. Adverbs, in general, moved towards the end of a clause and thus often displaced the object, e.g., ih han seks mɛ:dla letšd i:r ghed 'I had six girls last year' for BG ih han letšd i:r seks mɛ:dla ghed, or di: hen a mi:deŋ õimɔ:l der mõnad 'they have a meeting once a month' for BG di: hen õimɔ:l der mõnad a sitsoŋ, uas fo:rkoma du:rd emer for BG uas emer fo:rkomd 'what happens always'.

2.33 Sentence Level

At the sentence level interference of a different kind occurred: not features of English were taken over, but rather whole clauses or passages were spoken in English, e.g., uan ih an ka:fa dɛ:d, ðə klərk wud rait aut ə brɨ 'wenn ich ihn kaufen würde, the clerk would write out a bill', si: ua:r frõindlih, ənd ši: la:fd 'sie war freundlich, and she laughed', sai dõnt nõ,

uas ih noh sa:ga sol 'I don't know, was ich noch sagen soll', letśd ɔ:bad han ih dend, hi[ɛ] kɛnd krai ɛnɪ moʏr 'letzten Abend habe ich gedacht, he cannot cry any more'. Sentence level interference was most frequent in HSk (Canadian-born) and OS (Bessarabian-born).

2.4 Lexical Interference

The interference from English on BG's lexicon has already been described in the analysis above. What remains to be said is only in which context English elements occurred most frequently. Twelve topics were chosen: 1. numbers, 2. days, months, seasons, 3. parts of the body, 4. weather in Medicine Hat, 5. family and furniture, 6. mother's work, 7. father's or own work, 8. church, 9. hobby, 10. farming, 11. shopping, 12. government. The frequency ratios for BG vs. English words in each of the twelve topics is interesting. We shall restrict ourselves to three informants, one Bessarabian-born (JS), and one older (HSk) and one younger (NK) Canadian-born. The following chart may demonstrate the findings.

Topic	JS	HSk	NK	Total
1	20:0	20:0	20:0	60:0
2	24:0	10:1	9:0	43:1
3	13:0	12:1	9:0	34:1
4	34:0	39:0	20:0	93:0
5	39:1	28:6	18:1	85:8
6	19:0	26:4	14:0	59:4
7	35:0	17:33	15:1	67:34
8	46:0	42:40	19:4	107:44
9	17:0	20:7	53:11	90:18

Topic	JS	HSk	NK	Total
10	27:2	19:5	11:5	57:12
11	13:0	56:19	33:2	102:21
12	67:0	17:56	34:13	118:69[10]

The part of the corpus devoted to the first six topics contained only few English elements, also number nine if it meant "work done at home". However, mechanical appliances like fridges or vacuum cleaners were given in English. Father's or own work away from home, farming, shopping, and government contained most English loans, also church for the Canadian-born informants who attend English services. Although some informants came from farming families in Bessarabia, farm machines were usually given in English. This must be attributed to the different farming methods in Canada. Since the least interference could be seen in areas relating to everyday life at home, it is obvious that outside pressure brought about change.

3.0 Summary and Conclusions

In summary, it can be said that the dialect of the Canadian-born informants diverged greatly from that of the older and Bessarabian-born generation. The following chart may sum up the findings (B represents Bessarabian-born, C Canadian-born persons):

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[10] The discrepancy in numbers of English words between this section and section 2.22 is due to the fact that here every English element was counted, that is, every word within phrases, clauses, and sentences, whereas section 2.22 includes lexical items within an otherwise BG text.

level	interference from Standard German		interference from English	
	B	C	B	C
phonology	-	all	-	all
morphology	JS	all	all	all
word	all	all	all	all
phrase	-	all	-	HSk, HSr MK, HK
clause	-	all	FH,OS	all
sentence	-	-	OS	all

It can be seen that Bessarabian-born informants incorporated lexical items from both languages, also one morphological element from English, but Standard German morphology interfered in only one informant (JS).

Canadian-born informants, on the other hand, showed interference at all levels from both sources. Therefore, their dialect can be considered BG only partly; it is the result of external influence on BG. It has, therefore, been termed CBG (Canadian Bessarabian German). Speakers of CBG are often not able to single out the accepted BG form. Even in cases where foreign elements are recognized, CBG speakers were generally unable to provide the BG in their place. Bessarabian-born speakers always subject loanwords to BG's phonological laws, while speakers of CBG often allow exceptions.

Different levels of penetration from foreign influence could be observed; for example, for BG /a:/ where Standard German has /au/, or for BG /ɔi/ where the standard language has /oi/, the following chart can be drawn:

BG speakers	/a:/
older CBG speakers	/a: ~ a:u/
younger CBG speakers	/a: ~ a:u ~ au/, and

BG speakers	/õi/
older CBG speakers	/õi ~ ẽl/
younger CBG speakers	/õi ~ ẽi ~ ai ~ oi/.

Since there are such wide individual differences, a general system for CBG can scarcely be established. Through the contact with Standard German and English, additional allophones, phonemes, morphemes, and syntactical features vary greatly, not only from one informant to another, but also within the same idiolect.

While new phonemes, morphemes, and syntactical features were added to BG, thus turning it into CBG, the result was that Canadian-born informants use an "impoverished" dialect, and even in this are frequently uncertain as how to express themselves. This impoverishment is brought about by a tendency towards semantic broadening of BG words and by a preference for English loans with a wide semantic field, both tendencies reducing the specifying power of BG vocabulary. For example, nema 'to take' in CBG has the meaning of daura and nema under the influence of English 'to take': it takes two hours, BG des dauerd tsua:i ŏdond, CBG des nemd tsua:i ŏdond. The result is, that CBG has no word corresponding to English 'to last', German 'dauern'. dõ 'to do' expanded into areas where BG has maha 'machen', it is also used as auxiliary verb, e.g., ɡ:r du:rd sõi hõmwɐrk, BG ɡ:r mahd sõine hausufga:ba 'er macht seine Hausaufgaben', and ih du:(r) lɛ:sa 'ich lese'. Maha 'machen' in CBG is used for BG ferdẽna 'verdienen', e.g., si: had gɛld gmahd 'sie hat Geld verdient'. The English morpheme pẽnda 'to paint' replaces uaiela and mɔ:la 'anstreichen' and 'malen', or fiksa 'to fix' is used for BG tsu:bera:ida, beŏdrɔ:fa, rebari:ra, fliga, ŏdopfa, nɛ:a, gɛlɛ:ba, glaiŏdra, kema, benda, boldra and others. Variety of expression has thus become rather limited.

A comparison of the influences from the two sources, Standard German and English on BG is interesting. Standard German phonology supplied additions, (e.g., rounded vowels and /oi/, medial voiceless stops, gt medially and finally), also in its morphology, (e.g., plural allomorphs, prefixes and fuffixes,) and in syntax, (e.g., Standard German negative,) but very few lexical items from this source were imported into BG. It is interesting to note that BG's phonological and morphological system suffered no losses through the contact with Standard German; rather additions were made resulting in greater complexity. On the other hand, BG's vocabulary was reduced.

The influence from English showed a different picture. Here lexical items were substituted most frequently. Only one morpheme, (i.e. a plural morpheme) and a few syntactic features, (e.g., word order, change of form classes) were added, but English sounds occurred almost exclusively in imported morphemes; BG words had incorporated only [ɨ] and [ṛ].

Not all features present in the speech of the Canadian-born generation can be attributed, however, to foreign influence. A great factor for them must be imperfect learning. The wrong use of gender, case and adjective endings, and the irregular usage therein must be due to the fact that they never learned them properly. Uncertainty in classifying verbs into strong or weak verbs is another sign, e.g., HSk gebrona for BG brohd 'gebracht', HK guisa for BG guisd 'gewußt', or HSr and AS du:ra ~ dõ 'tun'. No simple form for the non-past subjunctive could be found, even for modal auxiliaries, in the speech of the Canadian-born informants - more evidence of incomplete learning. Non-past subjunctive was expressed with the help of the verb dõ 'tun', e.g., ih dɑ:d brauha 'ich würde brauchen', which in BG may also be formed as

ih bribd 'ich bräuchte'. In general, no system could be discovered in these areas.

A non-BG word order in dependent clauses with compound verbs occurred quite regularly in the speech of all Canadian-born informants and FH, although an influence from Standard German or English is unlikely. The inflected verb part was placed before the uninflected at the end of the dependent clause, e.g., si: beśbrɛhen, uas gmahd sol uɛrə instead of ... gmahd uɛrə sol 'sie besprechen, was gemacht werden soll, or uen mer d' fenśdrə mesd tsu: maha for BG ... tsu: maha mesd 'wenn wir die Fenster zumachen müssen'. We suspect influence from other German dialects in North America.[11] The same ill-defined source must have given CBG the verb glaiha 'to like'. Further research might identify the source.

In conclusion, the continuation of the Bessarabian German dialect in Medicine Hat for much longer appears highly unlikely. Because CBG has become such an "impoverished" language and because its speakers are quite uncertain about its form, this dialect will probably be learned less and less. Standard German taught in school is also a discouraging factor for the acquisition of this dialect. With the disappearing language the culture connected with it will be lost, too. However, we enter here on topics which lie beyond the scope of this dissertation.

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[11] H. Wacker observed this word order in Mennonite newspapers in Saskatchewan also. (H. Wacker, Die Besonderheiten der deutschen Schriftsprache in Kanada und Australien, p. 82).

CONCLUSION

The analysis of Bessarabian German revealed that this dialect differed from the standard language with the following features. In the phonology (Chapter II), BG lacks front rounded vowels, but has the mid vowels /e, ɛ / and /o:, ɔ:/, and the nasalized vowels /ẽ, õ, ã/. Nasalized vowels could have been analyzed as long vowels + /n/ which would have eliminated the necessity to posit nasalized vowels as phonemes. This would imply that a nasalized vowel preceding a dental nasal would be V: + /nn/, e.g., gẽn 'gehen' would be /ge:nn/. Since BG is otherwise free of double consonants and since no double nasals can be found in these cases in the history of the language, the analysis V: + /nn/ for Ṽn has been avoided (1.1 and 2.1). Like other South German dialects and the standard language, BG contrasts /e:/ and /ɛ:/ as, for example, in e:r 'Ehre' and ɛ:r 'Ähre' (2.1). Whereas in Standard German only three diphthongs occur, BG has five, i.e. the long /a:i, a:u/ and the short /ai, au/ and nasalized /õi/ (3.2). High vowels never occur preceding nasals except in the case of /õi/. For consonants the following is significant: BG has lost almost all voice contrast. Only initially with stops is a distinction made (1.0). Since BG does not use the -chen type of suffix for the diminutive, [ç] and [x] are allophones in this dialect. They belong to the phoneme /h/. [r̆] is heavily trilled in all positions except when preceding alveolar or palatal consonants where [ʃ] occurs (2.2).

In the morphology (Chapter III), BG has only three cases, nominative, accusative, and dative (1.1). There are even indications that accusative and dative are merging, since the latter replaces the former under certain conditions; similarly in personal (2.1) and reflexive pronouns (2.2). Nouns are not given case suffixation as in

Standard German, e.g., dem hærts 'dem Herzen', or mid de kender 'mit den Kindern' (1.1). There are three plural allomorphs, i.e. /-ø, -a, -er/ where /-ø/ and /-er/ may or may not occur with the umlaut of the root. BG has a singular and plural diminutive, i.e. sg. -le, pl. -la (1.2). The masculine and neuter indefinite article is distinguished in the nominative, e.g., õin man 'ein Mann', but õi haus 'ein Haus' (2.5). Instead of Sie for polite address, BG uses the second person plural, e.g., gẽn i:r 'gehen Sie' (2.11). Just as Standard German has weak and strong verb classes, BG divides verbs into two classes also. Class I compares with the weak, class II with the strong verb class. The basic difference between Standard German verb classes and those of BG is caused by the lack of a simple past tense in the dialect. This implies that cognates of the Indo-European class V and VI strong verbs of historical grammar belong to BG class I, the "weak" verbs of the dialect. To take care of mixed declensions each BG verb class is divided further into two groups (4.1). In BG conjugation of verbs a unified plural suffix is used, which may be /-ad/, or for some verbs /-n/, e.g., mi:r, i:r, si: lshad 'wir, sie lachen, ihr lacht', but mi:r, i:r, si: gẽn 'wir, sie gehen, ihr geht' (4.21). Only one stem vowel is used in the singular present, but it is changed in some verbs for the plural,

e.g.,

i:	fa:r	'ich fahre',	but i:	si:	'ich sehe'
du:	fa:rš	'du fährst'	du:	si:š	'du siehst'
ɛ:r	fa:rd	'er fährt'	ɛ:r	si:d	'er sieht'
mi:r	fa:rad	'wir fahren'	mi:r	sẽn	'wir sehen'.

(4.21). The BG verb is capable of expressing present, past, and future time (4.22). There are two tenses in past and future each, and two aspects in the present. The lack of imperfect characterizes BG as a South German dialect (Chapter V, 1.0,b.1). Present I is a simple tense, all

others are compound. (Only the verb 'to be' has a simple past tense, making it the only verb with three past tense paradigms). The past perfect tense is formed with the help of hen ... ghed (or sen/ua:rad ... gue: for verbs conjugated with sõi 'sein') and the past participle, e.g., mi:r hen gsẽ ghed 'wir hatten gesehen'(4.22). The verb dõ 'tun' acts as auxiliary to form present II indicative (4.22) and non-past subjunctive (4.23) in the active or passive voice (Appendix VI), e.g., ɛ:r du:rd (gra:d) lɛ:sa 'er liest (gerade)', ɛ:r dɛ:d lɛ:sa 'er würde lesen'. Present II expresses a progressive aspect (4.25) and cannot be used with a future connotation. The double negative is possible in BG; it is employed for emphasis, e.g., des han i: ni:mɔ:ls ned dend 'das habe ich (wirklich) nicht gedacht' (5.0). Word order is basically the same as in Standard German, except in relative clauses with a double infinitive (6.0). Here the inflected verb may precede or follow the double infinitive, e.g., i: gla:b, das mer des hed maha kena or ... maha kena hed 'ich glaube, daß man das hätte machen können'.

The analysis of Bessarabian German in Medicine Hat led us to look back into the past and investigate the relationship between its history and its linguistic features.

Linguistic evidence has confirmed historical accounts that give such places as Neckarsulm, Wildbad, Backnang and others as hometowns of Bessarabian settlers. Since the dialect was found to be a mixture of Swabian and East Franconian, earlier settlers must have emigrated from this language area. For example, just as Swabian, BG lowers high vowels before nasals; the correspondences of MHG /ę, ö, o, ä, a, ą̂, ą/, and final /-e/ and /ei, öu, ou/ before nasals are the same for Swabian and BG. Swabian uses a unified plural present indicative ending and the diminutive plural -la, just as BG. In common with

East Franconian, BG voices voiceless stops intervocalically, does not distinguish between the umlauted and unumlauted MHG /iu/ (<OHG iu), e.g., MHG ziuc (<OHG gaziug) BG tsaig 'Zeug', and MHG liute (<OHG liuti) BG laid 'Leute', and uses MHG gên, stên (Swabian uses gân, stân). BG realizes the umlaut of u before k in the same words as East Franconian, e.g., brig Brücke', but mug 'Mücke'. While BG features are drawn from far and wide, the single dialect grouping which supplied the greatest number of features is "Vorfränkisch", a smaller dialect area between Swabian and East Franconian. We conclude either that the homeland of the bulk of Bessarabian settlers was the "vorfränkisch" region, or that a similar compromise between Swabian and East Franconian has arisen outside of Germany through the interaction of these two dialects. It was interesting to note that this compromise between Swabian and East Franconian often resulted in features close to Standard German without being influenced by it (p. 138).

Linguistic evidence also confirmed historical accounts of the route of emigration. Because certain BG vocabulary items are found only in German-speaking Poland, earlier settlers must have entered Bessarabia via Poland (pp.165f). Settlement history is more specific, however, in telling us that only some of the early settlers spent ten to twenty years in Poland.

Light was also shed on the sociological make-up of the settlers in Bessarabia and/or Medicine Hat. Certain BG forms, considered substandard by other speakers, kept occurring, a fact which suggests that not all of the colonists originated from socially and educationally lower classes. Substandard, for example, is the use of the reflexive pronoun sih 'sich' in the first person plural where ons 'uns' is the standard; also the use of the nominative in the demonstrative pronoun as the object of a verb or a preposition requiring accusative, e.g., ɛ:r

si:d dɛ:r (for den) hu:d 'er sieht den Hut' and durh dɛ:r (for den) uender 'durch den Winter' (Chapter III, 2.2 and 2.3). Most settlers in Bessarabia and most of the early immigrants to Canada were farmers, and their schooling under locally recruited teachers did not exceed eight years. The analysis of the dialect, revealing a very limited influence of Standard German on the dialect of the older informants, reflects the limited education.

The analysis of the Bessarabian German dialect not only revealed and confirmed the history of the dialect and its community of speakers, but also the background of each individual informant. It was interesting to see that little or much education, and length of exposure to English or Standard German, determined the amount of interference. For example, among the Bessarabian-born informants only JS, with the longest sojourn in Germany, showed interference from Standard German at the morphological level, but none of them had incorporated phonological elements from either Standard German or English. The Canadian-born informants, on the other hand, being exposed to English at a pre-school age and to Standard German in school or church showed interference from both sources at all levels. Amongst this group, however, the language of AS, the informant with the least education and LF with the most (the former had eight years of school, the latter is working on a graduate degree) resembles the original dialect most closely. For example, the ratios for BG /ø/ vs. Standard German /-e/ were: AS 36:0, LF 22:5 (Chapter VI, 1.11, § 6), BG's voicing of medial voiceless stops vs. Standard German practice: AS 140:1, LF 20:9 (Chapter VI, 1.12, § 2). As far as English is concerned, LF never used [ɻ] or [r̩] in German words. Thus in persons having come in contact with the other language later in life and in those with little or much education the dialect was kept closest to the original.

Not all levels of language were affected uniformly. The two monolinguals, for example, had incorporated only lexical items (JS also used one Standard German morpheme). These were more readily borrowed than morphological features. Syntax is still less open to interference, and BG phonology is disturbed only with younger speakers. Thus the Bessarabian-born informants use neither Standard German nor English sounds (p. 165). In them interference from Standard German occurs only at the word level (except for JS), whereas English affects BG also at the morphological, clause and sentence level. This indicates the prestige of and intensity of contact with each language.

In looking at interference, different stages of penetration could be observed. For example, in cases where BG /a:/ corresponds to Standard German /au/, interference occurred as follows:

BG speakers	/a:/
older CBG speakers	/a: ~ a:u/
younger CBG speakers	/a: ~ a:u ~ au/ (pp. 165f).

Thus the replacing of one feature by an other may occur with an intermediary stage.

Lexical interference depended on the subject under discussion. With topics relating to everyday life at home least English loans were used (Chapter VI, 2.4) but for subjects like government many foreign vocabulary items were incorporated.

The heavy and widespread interference on the dialect must be attributed to the lack of prestige of BG. The Canadian-born informants prefer to use English. As there is little pressure to maintain this dialect, foreign influence takes over, creating grammatical uncertainty in BG and a preference for the prestige language. Thus the continuation of the Bessarabian German dialect in Medicine Hat for much longer is rather doubtful.

Not only was there linguistic support for the settlement history and the sociological composition of the linguistic community, but the analysis of BG gave insight also into the development and earlier stage of the dialect. Since neither Early Old High German nor BG have front rounded vowels and diphthongs, one could conclude that BG never developed them at any stage, but umlauted back vowels to front unrounded vowels directly. An investigation of vowel development showed, however, that although vowels are now all unrounded in BG, an intermediary stage with front rounded vowels must have existed earlier. Evidence for this conclusion can be drawn from the different correspondences of MHG /ei/ and /öu/ before nasals, i.e. BG /ɔ̈i/ and /ɛ̈/ (Chapter IV, 1.4 § 13). This intermediary stage cannot have had the entire vocalism of Standard Middle High German, however, since BG does not "lose" final unstressed MHG /-e/ uniformly, but "retains" it if it originated from OHG /-î/ (Chapter IV, 2.1 § 1). Evidence of the chronological order of change in BG's history were found also. The separate development of MHG /ei/ and /öu/ before nasals shows that lengthening of diphthongs occurred before their unrounding, otherwise their development would have been the same (Chapter IV, 1.4, § 13). In part this confirms what can be inferred from other historical facts. The contrast corresponding to MHG /î/ : /ei/ continued into BG as /ai/ : /a:i/ and was present throughout the period under discussion. We have spoken of a lengthening of pre-BG /ai/ to /a:i/, so as to make room for the /ai/ from MHG /î/. We could theoretically have used the concept of diphthongization of /î/ instead of the lengthening of pre-BG /ai/ and had phonetically long [a:i] from the start.

Besides looking back into the history of the dialect, certain trends can be observed in BG, indicating future developments. Firstly, the move towards standardi-

zation may be mentioned. For example, although two of the older and Bessarabian-born persons (FH and OS) alternated the long vowels [i:, u:] (FH also [ɛ̃:]) with the diphthongs [iə ~ ia, uə ~ ua], no traces of this practice could be observed in any of the younger informants.

A similar trend is towards simplification and eventual loss of features. At the phonological level the number of vowel contrasts in unstressed position, greatly reduced already in the history of the dialect, suffered further decrease in the speech of the informants. Unstressed vowels in personal pronouns or preceding /r/ often were reduced to schwa or lost altogether. Thus si: kan 'sie kann' became se kan, [ˈemər] 'immer' alternated with [ˈemr], and the personal pronoun ɛs 'es' was often used as a proclitic on the verb, e.g. sge:d for ɛs ge:d 'es geht' (Chapter II, 2.1 and Chapter III, 2.1). In grammar, a tendency prevailed towards the elimination of the accusative case, as was mentioned earlier (Chapter III, 2.3). In verbs the weak conjugation often replaced the strong in the speech of the Canadian-born informants, thus simplifying the morphology (Chapter VI, 3.0). A simple past and non-past subjunctive such as G. Hahn had observed in the dialect of Lichtental/Bessarabia[1] could not be detected in the Bessarabian German dialect in Medicine Hat (Chapter III, 4.23) and in most of the Canadian-born informants the difference of BG simple and progressive present was lost, thus simplifying the present tense (Chapter VI, 1.32, § 2). Greatest simplification and loss could be seen in the lexicon, mainly through the over-use of English loans, but also by semantic broadening of BG words (Chapter VI, 3.0).

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[1]Gottlieb Hahn, "Die Mundart von Lichtental, Kreis Akkerman, Bessarabien" (diss., Tübingen, 1929), p. 96.

Our analysis restricted itself to the description of BG's major features as they appear now. It is obvious that other areas of investigation were left untouched. Four of them may be mentioned here. Firstly, concerning BG itself, some aspects of its syntax require further research. Secondly, BG may be seen in relationship with other languages or dialects. For example, BG's influence on English of CBG speakers in Medicine Hat, its features in comparison with those in the language of Bessarabian Germans in other North American communities, or in Germany, where the majority of them lives now, were not investigated. Thirdly, linguistic problems arising out of this analysis are, for example, the chronological order of unrounding and nasalization of vowels, or the development of methods to measure interference. Fourthly, ethnolinguistic studies of interference could follow this analysis. With our research we do hope to have contributed in some measure to the study of German on this continent.

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APPENDIX I

BIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE INFORMANTS

(a) The Bessarabian-born Informants

1. FH,
   retired Farmer; born in Wittenberg, Bessarabia; moved to Albota, Bessarabia as a child; 89 years old (died September 1971); came to Canada in 1906 at the age of 24; widower; lives in Medicine Hat since retirement in 1944; went to school for eight years in Bessarabia; bilingual.
2. JS,
   retired farmer; born in Sofiewka, Bessarabia; 70 years old; married in second marriage to BG - English bilingual; after living in Germany for twenty years came to Canada in 1960 at the age of 58; living in Medicine Hat since 1965; went to school for four years in Bessarabia; monoligual.
3. OS,
   housewife; born in Eichendorf, Bessarabia; 62 years old; married to BG - English bilingual; came to Canada in 1928 at the age of 18; has lived in Medicine Hat since 1945; went to school for eight years in Bessarabia; bilingual.
4. OE,
   housewife; born in Hoffnungstal, Bessarabia; moved to Tarutino, Bessarabia when 20 years old; 59 years old; married to Standard German monolingual; came to Canada in 1956 after 16 years in Germany, at the age of 43; living in Medicine Hat since then; went to school for eight years in Bessarabia; monolingual.

(b) The Canadian-born Informants

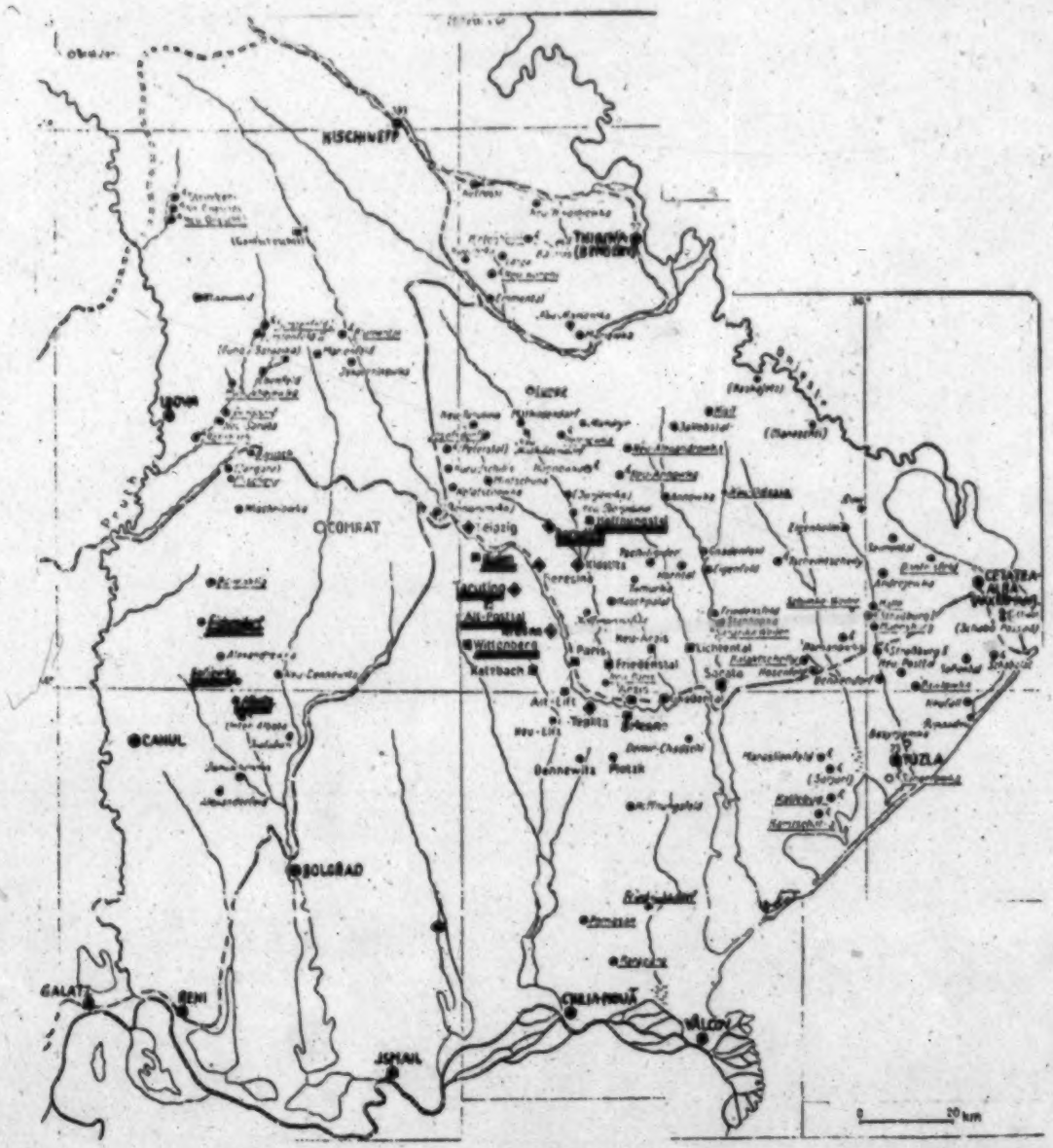
1. AS,
   nursing aid; born in Walsh, Saskatchewan; parents immigrated to Canada as teenagers from Albota, Bessarabia; 48 years old; married to an English monolingual; moved

to Medicine Hat in 1965; 8 years of school in Canada and nursing aids training; learned Standard German in Confirmation Class and Sunday School; speaks BG to visiting father and to patients in the hospital; bilingual.

2. LF,
elementary school teacher; born in Hilda, Alberta; parents from Tarutino and Alt-Postal, Bessarabia, who came to Canada as adults; 42 years old; single, living with parents; working on graduate degree; learned Standard German in church, and stayed in Germany for 3 weeks; speaks BG with parents and neighbors; bilingual.
3. HSk,
respiratory technician; born in King Chaid, Saskatchewan; parents from Borodino and Alt-Postal, Bessarabia, who came to Canada when 25 and 10 years old; 41 years old; single, living with widowed mother; grade 11 education; learned Standard German through church and 2 years in school; speaks BG with mother and neighbors; bilingual.
4. HSr,
college student; born in Medicine Hat; parents from Sofiewka, Bessarabia, who came to Canada as adults; 18 years old; single, living with parents; learned Standard German through 3 years public school and 3 years Saturday School; speaks BG with grandparents and occasionally with parents; bilingual.
5. NK,
grade 9 student; born in Medicine Hat; parents from Sofiewka and Kulm, Bessarabia, who came to Canada when 17 and 25 years old; 14 years old; learned Standard German through 5 years Saturday School and 1 year High School; speaks BG to grandparents and parents; bilingual.
6. HK,
grade 8 student; sister of NK; 13 years old; learned

Standard German through 5 years of Saturday School; bilingual.

Map of the German settlements in Bessarabia, the places mentioned in Appendix I are underlined twice.



APPENDIX II

Transcription of Selected Tape Material from each Informant

1. FH:

/mi:r hen en besa'rabien 'pahdes land ghed/
[mi:r hen en bəsa'řabjən 'p^{h}axdəs lant k^{h}et]
'wir haben in Bessarabien gepachtetes Land gehabt'

/on uo: der pahd aus ua:r, 'semer noh 'po:la/
[on vo: dəř p^{h}axt aus va:ř, 'seməř nox 'p^{h}o:la]
'und als die Pacht abgelaufen war, sind wir nach Polen'

/on uail doh dord 'kõiner gšõnd uɛrd - 'ie:der/
[on vajl dox dɔ^t 'k^{h}õjnəř kšõ:nt vɛ^t - 'je:dəř]
'und weil doch dort keiner geschont wird - jeder'

/mus tsom mile'de:r - so: 'semer noh 'kanada gaŋa/
[mus tsom mɪlə'de:ř - so: 'seməř nox 'k^{h}anada gaŋa]
'muß zum Militär - so sind wir nach Kanada gegangen'

/on uo: mer en 'uenebeg 'ua:rad iš ons s gɛld 'ausgaŋa/
[on vo: məř en 'venəbək 'va:řat ɪš ons s gɛlt 'ausgaŋa]
'und als wir in Winnipeg waren, ist uns das Geld ausgegangen'.

2. JS:

/en so'fi:efga, uail mẽ laid 'tsama 'koma sen/
[en so'fi:əfga, vajl mẽ: lajt 'tsama 'k^{h}oma sen]
'in Sofiewka, weil (dort) mehr Leute zusammen gekommen sind'

/iš a: fer'ši:da ge'šbroha 'uora, 'aber en der/
[ɪš a: fəř'ši:da gə'šbřoxa 'vɔřa, 'abəř en dəř]
'ist auch verschieden gesprochen worden, aber in der'

/leŋe had sih nɔ: di: šbrɔ:h en õis fer'uandeld/
[leŋə hat sɪç nɔ: di: šbřɔ:x en õjs fəř'vandəlt]
'Länge hat sich dann die Sprache in eine verwandelt'

/so: das mer nõ noh õi šbrɔ:h mid'nander ghed hen/
[so: das məř nõ: nox õj šbřɔ:x mɪd'nandəř k^{h}et hen]
'sodaß wir nur noch eine Sprache miteinander gehabt haben'

3. OS:

/i: ben 'ahtse iɔ:r ald guɛ:, uo: mi:r dɔ: rõi sen/
[i: ben 'axtsə jɔ:ř alt gvɛ:, vo: mi:ř dɔ: řõj sen]
'ich bin achtzehn Jahre alt gewesen, als wir hier her sind'

/se:ršd 'semer noh 'ɛruen, nɔ: 'semer noh mɛ̨dạsạn hɐ̨t/
[se:ˑšt 'semər nox 'ɛřvən nɔ: 'semər nox mɛ̨dạsạn hɐ̨t]
'zuerst sind wir nach Irwin, dann sind wir nach Medicine Hat'

/on dɔ: han i: nɔ: gšafd 'i:ber der 'uender fer femf/
[on dɔ: han i: nɔ: kšaft 'i:bař dəř 'vendəř fəř femf]
'und da habe ich dann gearbeitet über den Winter für fünf'

/'da:ler der mõnad, on han a fa'mi:le ghed fon tsuelf/
['da:ləř dəř mõ:nat, on han a fa'mi:lə k^{h}et fon tsvelf]
'Dollar den Monat, und habe eine Familie gehabt von zwölf'

/tsom 'uɛša on 'koha - des iš ned fi:l gɛld/
[tsom 'vɛša on 'k^{h}oxa - des ɪš net fi:l gɛlt]
'zum Waschen und Kochen - das ist nicht viel Geld'.

4. OE:

/des iš a broš, di: han i: mer en de šde:ts ka:fd/
[des rš a břoš, di: han i: mər en də šde:ts k^{h}a:ft]
'das ist eine Brosche, die habe ich mir in den Staaten gekauft'

/des iš a 'handarba:id, 'aber a ia'bãniše, di: mahd /
[des ɪš a 'handarba:jt, 'abər a ja'bã:nisə, di: maxt]
'das ist eine Handarbeit, aber eine japanische, die macht'

/'õiner dɔ: uo: mõine ke'sẽnena uõnad, ɛ:r uigeld se/
['õjnər dɔ: vo: mõjnə k^{h}ə'sẽ:nəna võ:nat, ɛ:r vigəlt sə]
'einer, da wo meine Kusinen wohnen, er wickelt sie '

/uf a šdrignɔ:del, on nɔ: du:rd er di: pɐrla 'nõifɛ:dla/
[uf a šdrɪgnɔ:dəl, on nɔ: du:ˑt ɐr di: p^{h}ɐrla 'nõjfɛ:dla]
'auf eine Stricknadel, und dann fädelt er die Perlen hinein'.

/ɛ:r mahd 'ɛlerhand 'sode/
[ɛ:r maxt 'ɛləřhant 'sodə]
'er macht allerhand solche'.

5. AS:

/ih kan mer noh 'deŋga, uo: ih a 'glõines 'mɛ:dle ua:r/
[ɪç k^{h}an mər nox deŋga, vo: Iç a 'glõjnəs 'mɛ:dlə va:ř]
'ich kann mir noch denken, als ich ein kleines Mädchen war'

/had mõin 'fader an pflu:g ghed mid am 'ua:saśnaider/
[hat mõjn 'fadəř an pflu:k k^{h}et mɪt am 'va:saśnajdəř]
'hat mein Vater einen Pflug gehabt mit einem Wasenschneider'

/on mid ra rę̨k iš s land 'e:ba gmahd 'uora/
[on mɪt řa řę̨^{ɪ}k Iš s lant 'e:ba gmaxt 'vɔřa]
'und mit einer 'rake' ist das Land eben gemacht worden'

/nɔ: hen se mid der 'sɔ:dmašẽ gsɛ:d, uen se gnoŋg /
[nɔ: hen sə mɪt dəř 'sɔ:dmašẽ: ksɛ:t, ven sə gnoŋk]
'dann haben sie mit der Sämaschine gesät, wenn sie genug'

/'rɛ:ga hen ghed on der 'ua:itsa 'guaksa iš, nɔ: iš/
['rɛ:ga hen k^{h}et on dəř 'va:jtsa 'gvaksa Iš, nɔ: Iš]
'Regen gehabt haben und der Weizen gewachsen ist, dann ist'

/em šbɛ:diɔ:r drɛšd 'uora. di: ganse 'nohber sen/
[em šbɛ:djɔ:ř dřɛšt 'vɔřa. di: gansə 'noxbər sen]
'im Herbst gedroschen worden. Die ganzen Nachbarn sind'

/fon õim farm tsom 'andra 'gaŋa on hen sih 'gholfa/
[fon õjm farm tsom 'andra gaŋa on hen sɪç 'k^{h}olfa]
'von einer Farm zur anderen gegangen und haben sich geholfen'

6. LF:

/en mę̨dẹsę̣n hæ̨t 'hemer an mę̨ę̣r on ahd 'aldermę̣n/
[en mę̨dẹsę̣n hæ̨t 'hemər an mę̨^{ɪ}ę̣r on axt 'aldərmę̣n]
'in Medicine Hat haben wir einen 'mayor' und acht 'aldermen'

/di: hen a 'mi:deŋ 'õimɔ:l der 'mõnad, dɔ: be'ŏbrɛhen se/
[di: hen a 'mi:dəŋ 'õjmɔ:l dər 'mõ:nat, dɔ: bə'ŏbrɛçən sə]
'die haben eine 'meeting' einmal den Monat, da besprechen sie'

/uas gmahd sol 'uɛra en der ŏdad. ofd dɛrfen mer a:uh/
[vas gmaxt sol 'vɛra en dər ŏdat. oft dɛrfən mər a:ux]
'was gemacht werden soll in der Stadt. Oft dürfen wir auch'

/'uo:da tsom 'sa:ga, uas mi:r 'uelen/
['vo:da tsom 'sa:ga, vas mi:r 'veləŋ]
''voten' zu sagen, was wir wollen'

7. HSk:

/uan ih uold a gla:id 'ka:fen, dɛ:d ih noh 'ɨtęns/
[van ɪç volt a gla:jt 'k^{h}a:fən, dɛ:t ɪç nox ɨ^{r}tęns]
'wenn ich ein Kleid kaufen wollte, würde ich zu 'Eatons'

/gẽn. ih dɛ:d mer di: 'gla:ider 'ãguga. uan er šẽ/
[gẽ:n ɪç dɛ:t mər di: 'gla:jdər 'ã:guga. van ər šẽ:]
'gehen. Ich würde mir die Kleider angucken. Wenn er schön'

/'basa dɛ:d, das 'ales gu:d gnɛ:d uɛ:r, dan dɛ:d ih/
['basa dɛ:t, das 'aləs gu:t gnɛ:t vɛ:r, dan dɛ:t ɪç]
'passen würde, daß alles gut genäht wäre, dann würde ich'

/an fer'laihd 'ka:fa, 'aber uan ned dan dɛ:d ih ned/
[an fər'lajçt 'k^{h}a:fa, 'abər van net dan dɛ:t ɪç net]
'ihn vielleicht kaufen, aber wenn nicht dann würde ich nicht'

/uail ih nɛ: 'mõine 'gla:ider a'lõinih/
[vajl ɪç nɛ: 'majnə 'gla:jdər a'lajnɪç]
'weil ich meine Kleider alleine nähe'.

8. HSr:

/mŏin 'fader had 'femftsen 'mener, uas 'šafad 'onder ẽm/
[mŏjn 'fadər hat 'femftsən 'menər, vas 'šafat 'ondər ẽ:m]
'mein Vater hat fünfzehn Männer, die unter ihm arbeiten'

/mi:r 'ha:ben drai 'karpəntə̤r, uas dẽn di: 'haiser 'uf-/
[mi:r 'ha:bən dřaj 'k^{h}ɐřp̬n̬t^{h}ə̤r, vas dẽ:n di: 'hajsər 'uf-]
'wir haben drei 'carpenter', die die Häuser auf-'

/frẽmen , 'dronder 'ha:ben ui:r 'le:berer, di: dẽn hard/
[frẽ:mən, 'drondər 'ha:bən vi:r 'le:bəřər, di: dẽ:n ha^t]
'framen', darunter haben wir 'labourer', die schwer'

/šafa. mi:r dẽn auh 'andere 'hairen, on di: dẽn šdof/
[šafa. mi:r dẽ:n aux 'andərə 'hajřən, on di: dẽ:n šdof]
'arbeiten. Wir (tun) auch andere 'hiren', und die tun Stoff'

/nõidõ ui: 'drə̤iwo̬ls, on briks on šdof ui: des/
[nõjdo: vi: 'drə̤iwo̬ᵛɬs, on brɪks on šdof vi: des]
'hinein(tun) wie 'drywalls' und 'bricks' und 'Stoff wie das'.

9. NK:

/ih hab õin ˌdə̤'mɑ̤tɪ̤k 'tü:reaufmaher, uen di: 'di:re/
[ɪç hap ãjn ˌdə̤'mɑ̤tɪ̤k 't^{h}ü:reaufmaxər, ven di: 'di:rə]
'ich habe einen 'automatic' Türaufmacher, wenn die Tür'

/'aufge:d, dan šald des'ales ab. mõin frõind/
['aufge:t, dan šalt des'aləs ap. mãjn frãjnt]
'aufgeht, dann schaltet sich alles ab. Mein Freund'

/had mer den mo'to:r gɛ: fer di: 'ti:re, on der papa/
[hat mər den mo'to:r gɛ: fər di: 't^{h}i:rə, on dər p^{h}ap^{h}a]
'hat mir den Motor gegeben für die Tür, und der Papa'

/had fi:l drɔ:d ge'habd, on nɔ: han ih des gmahd/
[hat fi:l drɔ:t gə'hapt, on nɔ: han ɪç des gmaxt]
'hat viel Draht gehabt, und dann habe ich das gemacht'.

10. HK:

/mõi šu:l iš a nõie šu:l. si: iš ned arg gro:s/
[mãj šu:l ɪš a nãjə šu:l. si: ɪš net ark gro:s]
'meine Schule ist eine neue Schule. Sie ist nicht sehr groß'

/ih la:f 'ie:da 'morga on ge: hõim 'ɛsa am 'mida:g/
[ɪç la:f 'je:da 'mɔrga on ge: hãjm 'ɛsa am 'mida:k]
'ich laufe jeden Morgen und gehe am Mittag heim essen'

/mi:r sen so: rom 'seksatsuansih en der ahda glas/
[mi:r sen so: rom 'seksatsvansɪç en dər axda glas]
'wir sind so um sechsundzwanzig in der achten Klasse'.

APPENDIX III

Vowel Clusters in Stressed Position in BG

Phoneme	Initially	Medially	Finally
/ai/	/aih/'euch'	/laib/'Leib'	/nai/'neu'
	/ail/'Eule'	/uais/'weiß (colour)'	/glai/'gleich'
	/'aier/'euer'	/laihd/'leicht'	/sai/'sei, Säue'
	/'aider/'Euter'	/daitš/'deutsch'	
		/fail/'Feile'	
/a:i/	/a:ih/'Eiche'	/gla:id/'Kleid'	/ma:i/'Mai'
	/'a:ier/'Eier'	/la:ib/'Laib'	/ha:i/'Heu'
	/'a:ider/'Eiter'	/ua:is/'weiß (verb)'	/tsua:i/'zwei'
	/'a:iga/'eigen'	/'sa:ife/'Seife'	
		/'la:ider/'Leiter'	
		/ma:is/'Mais'	
/õi/	/õi/'ein, neut.'	/hõim/'heim'	/nõi/'hinein'
	/õin/'ein, masc.'	/mõis/'meins'	/štõi/'Stein'
	/'õimer/'Eimer'	/'lõima/'Lehm'	/fõi/'fein'
	/'õifal/'Einfall'	/'rõima/'räumen, reimen'	/glõi/'klein'
/au/	/aus/'aus'	/maus/'Maus'	/pfau/'Pfau'
	/'audo/'Auto'	/brauhd/'gebraucht'	/bau/'Bau'
	/'ausgaŋ/'Ausgang'	/'sauergraud/'Sauerkraut'	/brau/'braue'
		/'rauba/'Raupen'	
		/braud/'Braut'	
		/haud/'Haut'	
/a:u/	/'a:ugušd/'August (name)	/ta:ua/'tauen'	/gna:u/'genau'
			/ta:u/'Tau'

Consonant Clusters in BG

Sequences of two consonants word initially[1]

Initial Consonant	Cluster	Example
fricative	/fl-/	/flaš/ 'Flasche'
	/fr-/	/fro:/ 'froh'
	/sg-/	/sgan'da:l/ 'Skandal'
	/šb-/	/šbɛ:d/ 'spät'
	/šd-/	/šde:d/ 'steht'
	/šm-/	/šma:l/ 'schmal'
	/šn-/	/šne:/ 'Schnee'
	/šl-/	/'šlɔ:fa/ 'schlafen'
	/šr-/	/šrɛ:g/ 'schräg'
stop	/bl-/	/blats/ 'Platz'
	/br-/	/brais/ 'Preis'
	/bs-/	/'bsu:ha/ 'besuchen'
	/bš-/	/bšau/ 'Beschau'
	/pf-/	/pfond/ 'Pfund'
	/ts-/	/tsorn/ 'Zorn'
	/tš-/	/'tšanda/ 'zuschanden'
	/gf-/	/'gfala/ 'gefallen'
	/gh-/	/ghold/ 'geholt'
	/gn-/	/gni:/ 'Knie'
	/gl-/	/glad/ 'glatt'
	/gr-/	/gri:g/ 'Krieg'
	/gs-/	/gsihd/ 'Gesicht'
	/gš-/	/gšihd/ 'Geschichte'

Sequences of three consonants initially in words[1]

Initial Consonants	Cluster	Example
fricative + stop	/sgl-/	/sgla:f/ 'Sklave'
	/šbl-/	/'šblider/ 'Splitter'

[1] A phonetic list would include clusters containing [v], e.g., [šv-] /šuɛ:r/ 'schwer', [gv-] /guihd/ 'Gewicht', [tsv-] /tsua:i/ 'zwei', which are missing in this phonemic list, because [v] is an allophone of the vowel phoneme /u/.

	/šbg-/	/šbruh/ 'Spruch'
	/šdr-/	/šdrɔ:s/ 'Straße'
stop + fricative	/gšm-/	/gšmag/ 'Geschmack'
	/gšn-/	/'gšnida/ 'geschnitten'
	/gšl-/	/'gšla:ga/ 'geschlagen'
	/gšr-/	/'gšri:ba/ 'geschrieben'

Sequences of two consonants word finally

First Consonant	Cluster	Example
fricative	/-fš/	/ru:fš/ 'rufst'
	/-hd/	/rɛhd/ 'recht'
	/-hš/	/lahš/ 'lachst'
	/-sd/	/brosd/ 'prost (Russ. poor)'
	/-lb/	/halb/ 'halb'
	/-ld/	/hold/ 'holt'
	/-lg/	/uɛlg/ 'welk'
	/-lf/	/ɛlf/ 'elf'
	/-lh/	/elh/ 'Elch'
	/-lm/	/gualm/ 'Qualm'
	/-ln/	/keln/ 'Köln'
	/-ls/	/hals/ 'Hals'
	/-lš/	/falš/ 'falsch'
nasal	/-mb/	/bomb/ 'Bombe, Pumpe'
	/-md/	/hemd/ 'Hemd'
	/-mf/	/femf/ 'fünf'
	/-mš/	/nemš/ 'nimmst'
	/-nd/	/hond/ 'Hund'
	/-ns/	/ons/ 'uns'
	/-nš/	/menš/ 'Mensch'
	/-ŋd/	/faŋd/ 'fängt'
	/-ŋg/	/dreŋg/ 'trink'
	/-ŋš/	/seŋš/ 'singst'
trill	/-rb/	/korb/ 'Korb'
	/-rd/	/hɛrd/ 'Herd'
	/-rg/	/šdarg/ 'stark'

	/-rl/	/kɐrl/'Kerl'
	/-rm/	/arm/ 'Arm'
	/-rn/	/ʃtɐrn/ 'Stern'
	/-rf/	/ʃarf/ 'scharf'
	/-rš/	/kirš/ 'Kirsche'
stop	/-bd/	/ʃraibd/ 'schreibt'
	/-bš/	/he:bš/ 'hebst'
	/-pf/	/glopf/ 'klopfe'
	/-ps/	/snaps/ 'Schnaps'
	/-pš/	/hipš/ 'hübsch'
	/-dš/	/bidš/ 'bittest'
	/-ts/	/kats/ 'Katze'
	/-tš/	/hutš/ 'Fohlen'
	/-gd/	/logd/ 'lockt'
	/-gš/	/hagš/ 'hackst'
	/-ks/	/fuks/ 'Fuchs'

Sequences of three consonants word finally

First two Consonants	Cluster	Example
stop + fricative	/-pfd/	/hopfd/ 'hüpft'
	/-pfš/	/glopfš/ 'klopfst'
	/-tšd/	/glatšd/ 'klatscht'
fricative + stop	/-hds/	/nahds/ 'nachts'
lateral + stop	/-lts/	/holts/ 'Holz'
trill + stop	/-rks/	/marks/ 'Mark'
	/-rts/	/hɐrts/ 'Herz'
nasal + fricative	/-mfd/	/damfd/ 'dampft'
	/-mfš/	/ʃimfš/ 'schimpfst'
	/-nšd/	/onšd/ 'sonst'
lateral + fricative	/-lfd/	/hɛlfd/ 'hilft'
	/-lfš/	/hɛlfš/ 'hilfst'
trill + fricative	/-rfd/	/ʃɐrfd/ 'schärft'
	/-rfš/	/dɐrfš/ 'darfst'
	/-ršd/	/uuršd/ 'Wurst'

APPENDIX IV

Idiomatic Expressions which Show Genitive Case[1]

(a) Genitive of time

morgads 'morgens', ɔ:bads 'abends', da:gsi:ber 'tagsüber', õis da:gs 'eines Tages', ǎfangs der uoh 'anfangs der Woche', ausgangs mõnad 'ausgangs des Monats', monda:gs 'montags'.

(b) Genitive of manner

gu:ds mu:ds 'guten Mutes', aus laibes grɛfda 'aus Leibeskräften', an kendes ǯdad 'an Kindes Statt', fon rɛhds uɛ:gs 'von Rechts wegen', handelsõinih 'handelseinig', anderer mõinon 'anderer Meinung', ǯdɛrbensmi:d 'sterbensmüde', õisda:ils, gre:ǯdenda:ils 'einesteils, größtenteils', ned der mi: uɛ:rd 'nicht der Mühe wert', õinerla:i 'einerlei', ɛlerhand 'allerhand', haluɛ:gs 'halbwegs', tsaidlɛ:bens 'zeitlebens', rɛhder, lenger hand 'zur rechten, linken Hand', ge: dõis uɛ:gs 'geh deines Weges'.

(c) Genitive of possession

s baumans paul 'Paul, der Sohn der Familie Baumann', s nohbers haus 'das Haus des Nachbarn', bais o:lhausens 'bei der Familie Ohlhausen', fõindes land 'Feindes Land', uf ǯu:ǯders raba 'auf Schusters Rappen'.

(d) Genitive of quantity

mɔ:lers fi:re 'viermal', iɔ:rers tsua:i 'zwei Jahre ungefähr', s uɛ:sas maha 'ein Wesen machen', a tsaigs 'ein Zeug', genitive after 'viel' and 'kein', e.g., fi:l uɛ:sas 'viel Wesen', kõi ǯdɛrbensuɛrdle 'kein Sterbenswörtchen'.

(e) Genitive of exclamation

oms hemels uila 'um Himmelswillen', en gods nãma 'in Gottes Namen', mõiner lɛbda:g 'um alles'.

(f) Genitive in games

ferǯdegerles 'Versteckspiel', fanerles 'Fangspiel'.

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[1] These examples from G. Hahn's list are used in BG also. (Cf. G. Hahn, "Die Mundart von Lichtental, Kreis Akkerman, Bessarabien " (diss., Tübingen, 1929), pp. 86f.

APPENDIX V

List of English Loans Appearing in the Data

1. Nouns

alderman, automobile, auxiliary home, baby, bachelor, backhaisle, baking powder, baking soda, baseball, basement, bathroom, bedroom, bicycle, bill, bird, boarder, boss, bother, bows, boys, bricks, budget, buds. cement blocks, china cabinet, cake, cancer, car, carpenter, carrots, cereal, chairs, lazy-boy chair, charts, cheque, chesse, chest, chesterfield, chrome, coal oil, coat, combine, committee, counselor, country, couple, cousin, crabapples, cream, cultivator, cupboard, cushion, cutter, days, discer, drill, drywall, electicity, engine, exercise, fall, fan, farm, farmer, feedlot, finisher, fireplace, fruit, fur, furnace, garbage, government, grades, grainery, grassmower, young people's group, hallway, handcrafts, heating, homestead, homework, French horn, horses, imagination, implement, jam, jelly, job, kids, kleenex, labourer, leave, load, mantel, marble, mark, mayor, meal, meeting, miles, militia, niece, nephew, oranges, patients, peaches, pears, phone, physiotherapy, furniture polish, porridge, post office, purse, radio, rake, refrigerator, report, room, living room, washroom, salesman, (Käs-) sandwich, science, scope, separator, roof shingles, side shoots, size, slices, States, steel, stomach, store, stove, street, bedroom suite, supper, swather, coffee table, chrome table, pool table, tape, teachers, team, thimble, toast, tomatoes, tools, tractor, train, trouble, truck, turkeys, TV, uniform, variety, wallet, ward, wig, wire.

2. Verbs

(given in the form they occurred)

to amount, to back (nonder), to brush, caught on, changed, cleaned (aus), to combine, to cultivate, to farm, fenced in, to frame (uf), to jump (nõi), to join, laughed, to melt, mixed, moved in, to phone, to rent, to smoke, smoked,

to tape, to touch, to try, to stand, to swath, to use, to vote.

3. Adjectives and adverbs:
automatic, Catholic, coloured, depressed, federal, female, inside, never, outside, plain, really, steady, unseparated, right,

4. Miscellaneous:
as, below, all.

APPENDIX VI

Short Reference Grammar

(1) Declension of nouns:

	masc.	neut.	fem.	plural
N/A/D	dɑ:g	hɔrts	'uídue	dɑ:g, 'hɔrtser, 'uíduena

(2) Definite article:

	masc.	neut.	fem.	plural
N	dɛ:r	des	di:	di:
A	den			
D	dem	dem	dɛ:ra	dene

(3) Indefinite (and negative indefinite) article:

	masc.	neut.	fem.	plural
N/A	(k)õin	(k)õi	(k)õi	(kõine)
D	(k)õim	(k)õim	(k)õinra/ra	

(4) Adjective endings:

determiners	masc. N	masc. A	masc. D	neut. N	neut. A	neut. D	fem. N	fem. A	fem. D	plural N	plural A	plural D
Class I	-e		-a	-e		-a	-e		-a		-e	
Class II	-er		-a	-es		-a	-e		-a		-e	
unpreceded	-er		-em	-es		-em	-e		-er		-e	

(5) Personal pronouns:

	Singular 1st	Singular 2nd	Singular 3rd m	Singular 3rd n	Singular 3rd f
N	i:(ih)/i(e)	du:	ɛ:r/er	ɛ:s/es/s	si:/se
A	mi:/me	di:/de	ẽn/en	"	"
D	mi:r/mer(me)	di:r/der (de)	ẽm/em	ẽm/em	i:ra(ra)

	Plural		
	1st	2nd	3rd
N	si:r/mer	i:r/er	si:/se
A	} ons	} aih/ih	"
D			~ne/ne

(6) Conjugation of the auxiliary verbs:
(a) han 'haben' (b) sōi 'sein' (c) uɛ:ra 'werden'

Indicative			Subjunctive		
present I:			nonpast I:		
1. han	ben	uɛ:r	hed	sai,	uɛ:r
2. haš	biš	uɛ:rš	hedš	saiš,	uɛ:rš
3. had	iš	uɛ:rd	hed	sai,	uɛ:r
pl hen	sen	uẽn	'hedad	'saiad,	'uɛ:rad
present II:			nonpast II:		
1. du:r	han (sōi, uɛ:ra)		dɛ:d	han (sōi, 'uɛ:ra)	
2. du:rš	"		dɛ:dš	"	
3. du:rd	"		dɛ:d	"	
pl dẽn	"		'dɛ:dad	"	
past I:			past:		
1. han	ghed, ben	gu ɛ:('uɔ:ra)	hed	ghed, uɛ:r	guɛ: ('uɔ:ra)
2. haš	" biš	"	hedš	" uɛ:rš	"
3. had	" iš	"	hed	" uɛ:r	"
pl hen	" sen	"	'hedad	" 'uɛ:rad	"

past II:

1. -	ua:r	gu ɛ:('uɔ:ra)
2. -	ua:rš	"
3. -	ua:r	"
pl -	'ua:rad	"

past III: (imperfect, for sõi 'sein' only)
1. ua:r
2. ua:rś
3. ua:r
pl ʻua:rad

future I:
1. uɛr han (sõi, ʻuɛra)
2. uɛrś " -
3. uɛrd "
pl.uẽn "

future II:
1. uɛr ghed han (guɛ: sõi, ʻuora sõi)
2. uɛrś " "
3. uɛrd " " -
pl uẽn " "

imperative:
sg. habʲ, saiʲ, uɛrʲ,
pl. henʲ, ʻsaiadʲ, uẽnʲ

infinitive:
present han, sõi, ʻuɛra
perfect ghed han, guɛ: sõi, ʻuora sõi

participle:
I - - -
II ghed, guɛ:, ʻuora

(7) Conjugation of Class I and II verbs:
(a. with past participle /-d/, b. with past participle /-a/)

Active

Indicative		Subjunctive	
present I:		nonpast:	
1. lo:b	fa:r breŋ šnaid	dɛ:d	lo:ba (fa:ra, breŋa, šnaida)
2. lo:bš	fa:rš breŋš šnaidš	dɛ:dš	"
3. lo:bd	fa:rd breŋd šnaid	dɛ:d	"
pl lo:bad,	fa:rad, breŋad, šnaidad	dɛ:dad	"
present II:			
1. du:r	lo:ba (fa:ra, breŋa,		
2. du:rš	" šnaida)		-
3. du:rd	"		
pl dẽn	"		
past I:		past	
1. han glo:bd	(gfa:ra, brohd,	hed	glo:bd (gfa:ra, brohd,
2. haš	" gšnida)	hedš	" gšnida)
3. had	"	hed	"
pl hen	"	hedad	"

(for verbs conjugated with sõi 'sein')

1. ben	gfa:ra	uɛ:r	gfa:ra
2. biš	"	uɛ:rš	"
3. iš	"	uɛ:r	"
pl sen	"	uɛ:rad	"
past II:			
1. han glo:bd	(gfa:ra, brohd, gšnida) ghed		
2. haš	" "		-
3. had	" "		
pl hen	" "		

(for verbs conjugated with sõi 'sein')

1. ben	ˈgfa:ra	gu:r	or	ua:r ~~gfa:ra~~	
2. biš	"	"		ua:rś "	-
3. iš	"	"		ua:r "	
pl sen	"	"		ˈua:rad "	

<u>future I</u>:

1. u:r lo:ba (ˈfa:ra, ˈbreŋa, ˈšnaida)
2. u:rś "
3. u:rd "
pl uẽn "

<u>future II</u>:

1. u:r glo:bd (ˈgfa:ra, brohd, ˈgẽnida) han
2. u:rś " "
3. u:rd " "
pl uẽn " "

(for verbs conjugated with sõi 'sein')

1. u:r ˈgfa:ra sõi
2. u:rś " "
3. u:rd " "
pl uẽn " "

<u>imperative</u>:

sg. lo:b !, fa:r !, breŋ !, šnaid !,
pl. ˈlo:bad!, ˈfa:rad!, ˈbreŋad!, ˈšnaidad!,

<u>infinitive</u>:

present: ˈlo:ba, ˈfa:ra, ˈbreŋa, ˈšnaida,
perfect: glo:bd han, ˈgfa:ra sõi (han), brohd han, ˈgẽnida han,

<u>participle</u>:

I ˈlo:bend, ˈfa:rend, ˈbreŋend, ˈšnaidend,
II glo:bd, ˈgfa:ra, brohd, gẽnida.

Passive

Indicative

present I:

1. uːr	glo:bd	(gfaːra, gánida)	brohd, uːra
2. uːrá	"		
3. utrd	"		
pl uẽn	"		

present II:

1. duːr	glo:bd	(gfaːra, gánida)	brohd, uːra
2. duːrá	"		"
3. duːrd	"		"
pl dẽn	"		"

past I:

1. ben	glo:bd	(gfaːra, gánida)	brohd, uora
2. biš	"		"
3. iš	"		"
pl sen	"		"

past II:

1. uaːr	glo:bd	(gfaːra, gánida)	brohd, uora
2. uaːrš	"		"
3. uaːr	"		"
pl uaːrad	"		"

future I:

1. uːr	glo:bd	(gfaːra, gánida)	brohd, uːra
2. uːrš	"		"
3. uːrd	"		"
pl uẽn	"		"

Subjunctive

nonpast:

dɛːd	glo:bd	(gfaːra, gánida)	brohd, uːra
dɛːdš	"		"
dɛːd	"		"
uɛːdad	"		"

past:

uɛːr	glo:bd	(gfaːra, gánida)	brohd, uora
uɛːrš	"		"
uɛːr	"		"
uɛːrad	"		"

future II:

1. uɛr glo:bd (ˈgfa:ra, brohd, ˈgănida) uora sõi
2. uɛrə̆ " " "
3. uɛrd " " "

pl uĕn " " "

imperative:

sg. sai (uɛr) glo:bd (ˈgfa:ra, brohd, ˈgănida)
pl. ˈsaiad (ˈuɛrad) "

infinitive:

present: glo:bd (ˈgfa:ra, brohd, ˈgănida) uɛra
perfect: " ˈuora sõi

participle:

I - - -
II glo:bd, ˈgfa:ra, brohd, ˈgănida.